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ELECTION, BACKGROUND ACTIVITIES OF NEW PRESIDENT REPORTED

London IRAN PRESS SERVICE in English 29 Jul 81 pp 1-3

[Text] The "landslide" victory of premier Mohammad Ali Rajai in the elections for the presidency of the Islamic republic represented a decisive new blow to its opposition on the part of the ruling extremists.

Though some observers dismiss the voting figures as "entirely fraudulent" and "grotesque exaggerations" of the true poll, the way the republic's officials handled the exercise and contrived to avoid any impression that its opponents could disrupt the voting demonstrates that the mullahs and their friends are still ahead of the late Shah's men in putting on a show of mass public support.

One or two Iran watchers, indeed, went so far as to describe Rajai's win as "a remarkable victory over the united opposition." But a "progressive" clergyman in Paris who is close to the Islamic-leftist Mojahedin-e-Khalq contended that many observers had believed the Tehran government's allegations that the group's supporters were planning a coup d'etat, but in fact the Mojahedin, a well disciplined force, had instructed its supporters to avoid any possible threat to lives on the polling day itself, so it had not suffered any "defeat."

Others refused to believe the Mojahedin had taken no part in the violence which latest reports now reveal was far more widespread than was originally reported throughout Iran on polling day. The government announced 11 revolutionary guards had died in hit and run attacks, but the toll is said to have risen considerably as reports reached Tehran from more distant parts of the country.

In many parts of the world the republic's embassies were also under attack from opposition groups. In Ankara the ballot box was seized and destroyed. In Vienna several people were hurt in a shoot-out and there were a number of arrests. In New York a group of 15 Iranians chained themselves to the Statue of Liberty as a protest against the excesses of the regime at home, the second time this has been done. In Copenhagen students attacked the embassy and disfigured photographs of Khomeini.

Rajai was credited with having gained just short of 13 million of the 14,652,440 votes cast, with Abbas Sheibani, a longtime National Front stalwart second with 666,650, and the other two candidates, Parvaresh with just over 400,000 and Asghar-Awladi 252,349. The 461,948 votes declared void, Tehran radio said, were for Khomeini, Bani-Sadr, "Mahin and Shahin."

Controversy over the validity of the figures was fueled by numerous expressions of scepticism over the facilities being available for so many people to reach a polling station. Although these were much more widely available than when the first referendum on the Islamic republic was held in 1979 an article published in a Tehran newspaper at that time estimated that the figures of votes in favour were inflated many times over and cited obvious logistical obstacles to anything like the published number of votes being cast.

Ahmad Bani-Ahmad, who represented the small town of Karaj in the last parliament under the Shah, and who now heads a nationalist, anti-monarchy opposition group in the south of France, pointed out this week that "even if all the babies in the area had voted it would be impossible to find the 300,000 whom the government claimed voted there in the presidential election." Other former officials pointed out other discrepancies. The figures for voting in London, 902 only for a community of scores of thousands of eligible voters, showed a marked contrast to figures of voting inside Iran.

Bani-Ahmad also contended that Islamic associations which are now the powers in numerous offices and factories had begun to examine the identity cards of employees to confirm that they had marks showing they had voted, a threat which was unofficially publicised before the presidential poll. It was feared that those who had not voted could face dismissal from their jobs.

Observers said there was no doubt, in fact, that the intensive campaign waged by the regime, ranging from Khomeini's announcement that failure to vote was an anti-Islamic act to pressures of all kinds on the public to make them feel they would be found out if they didn't, did send many people to the polls who may not have gone.

Tehran radio, in a commentary after the results were announced, said the landslide win could be considered as a complete defeat for the united counter-revolutionary movements. The win reflected true Islam in confirming that the people were not separate from the clergy (a part of Islamic doctrine). It also showed that former president Bani-Sadr's victory was owed to the fact that he was seen as a candidate of the Imam's line but when he departed from it he was thrown into the dustbin of history.

Behzad Nabavi, the official who is tipped to succeed Rajai as premier, said the poll victory marked the end of the power struggle and the time for planning had now come.

But Iran watchers said two other things had to be achieved before the country could settle down to real planning and steady development again.

The first was a decisive victory over the "monafeqs" (false devotees), as the groups like the Mojahedin and their allies are now labelled. Without this, security could not be restored and real progress would be virtually impossible without reestablishment of security and law and order.

The Mojahedin is already prepared, sources say, for a new onslaught from the regime's forces. The execution on Monday of Reza Saadati, the former Majahedin leader who was serving a long sentence for allegedly spying for the Soviet Union, is seen as one of the opening moves of the new campaign against the Mojahedin. Simultaneously, announcements were made of the executions of many more members of the movement.

The other area which had to be tackled was the economy, which is in a more chaotic state than ever. The threats by the public prosecutor of Islamic retribution for those who on strike or indulge in go-slows, now common in the state offices and industries like oil, are signs of the regime's realisation of this problem.

Iran's second president in less than three years of the Islamic republic, Mohammad Ali Rajai, had been a Muslim activist since he was a young air force man who met the late Ayatollah Taleghani in his late teens, Tehran radio said in a biography of the new head of state broadcast on Monday.

He then established contact with the Feda'iyān-e-Eslām organisation (the then Egyptian-based Muslim Brotherhood branch in Iran) and began his doctrinal struggle.

A native of Qazvin, a small city west of Tehran, he had been brought up largely by a brother after his father died when he was three. After he completed elementary school he came to Tehran at the age of 14 and worked for some years in the bazaar before becoming attached to the air force.

He left the air force in 1953 and, obtaining his secondary school diploma the same year, he got a job as a teacher at Bijar in Kurdistan. He continued working as a teacher until the revolution, except for several spells in prison. After a period at a teachers' college he moved to a secondary school in Khonsar, later moving to Tehran to teach statistics in a secondary school there. He had moved to his native Qazvin when he was arrested and jailed for the first time. When freed, he began to collaborate with Jala'eddin Farsi, a founding member of the Islamic Republican Party and Hojatoleslam Javad Bahonar, who has succeeded Mohammad Beheshti as secretary-general of that party.

They founded an Islamic association which started an Islamic school for girls and the Rejah Foundation and Kamal Society, which became centres for those who supported the movement responsible for the rioting in Tehran led by Khomeini in 1963, the radio said. In 1970, when Farsi left Iran to form a guerrilla group, Rajai continued as his liaison man in Iran, and once paid a visit to Damascus to discuss plans with him.

While acting as a school principal Rajai met Hanif Nejad, one of the Mojahedin founders, when the latter's wife was a teacher at his school. After being again arrested and jailed in 1973 Rajai, the radio said, cogitated long on how the Mojahedin movement could equate Islam with Marxism "and failed to understand." After completing his sentence he was rearrested after only a short period of freedom and was only released again at the time of the revolution in 1978.

Rajai quickly became active again, forming a secret Islamic organisation called the Teachers' Islamic Association, in which he cooperated with the Rafsanjani brothers, one of whom is now Majlis Speaker and the other a deputy premier, Bahonar and Beheshti. He visited France, Turkey and Syria on short trips during this period, but was later appointed Minister of Education in Mehdi Bazargan's provisional government. He soon nationalised all educational centres and schools. He became an M.P. for Tehran and was appointed Prime Minister in 1980 on the recommendation of the Majlis.

Married with one son and two daughters, the radio said, Rajai has always observed strict Islamic discipline in his behavior.

CSO: 4600/118

ARIANA SETS UP HEADQUARTERS AT IRAN-TURKISH BORDER

London IRAN PRESS SERVICE in English 29 Jul 81 p 7

[Text] Former chief of the Shah's joint staff General Bahram Ariana is now established in a full-time headquarters on the Turkish-Iran border, honouring a pledge he made when he left Paris last week, according to informed sources in Ankara.

He is reported by aides to have already made contact with military groups inside Iran who oppose the present regime. But they added he is trying to avoid embarrassing Turkish officials, who enjoy good commercial relations with Tehran, by making propaganda.

IPS' Paris correspondent also reports that a considerable number of former officers in exile have contacted Ariana's office in Paris and say they plan to join him. They hope to travel in small groups in the near future. Some are already prepared to leave. Ariana says he believes that any coup d'etat must come from Tehran and it is there that he plans to direct his efforts.

Many opposition groups have expressed their support for Ariana's action. "It's a very laudable idea and I'm all for it," said Ali Amini, a former Iranian premier who heads a movement for national reconciliation which tries to bring opposition elements together. "It is far better to do that than to sit in Paris publishing communiques about freeing the country.

"As far as I am concerned I am ready to do what I can for Ariana's success."

Ariana believes the monarchy should be restored to Iran and security then provided for Iranians of all ideologies in the country.

CSO: 4600/120

INTELLECTUALS REPORTED TAKING REFUGE IN FRANCE

Paris LE MONDE in French 30 Jul 81 p 4

[Article by J. -M. Durand-Souffland--passages enclosed in slantlines printed in italics]

[Text] It was in late August 1978, when they became convinced that the shah's regime could not survive much longer in the face of a cold wind that would soon change into a revolutionary tornado, that a large number of families belonging to the Iranian /"gentry"/ began to think of going into exile. Moreover, the court itself was the first to set the example: Hercules C-130's from the air force were leaving Tehran twice a week for destinations in Spain, for Paris and the Cote d'Azur, New York, and Los Angeles, carrying on board precious furnishings, tapestries, art objects.

But the big exodus of intellectuals--doctors, lawyers, architects, engineers, professors, etc.--whose wives and children spent the summer in Europe as they did every year, and already chose to stay there--began to get organized in mid-September and continued to the end of 1978. Starting in March of the following year, 5,000 to 6,000 political refugees were fleeing the country every day by any means possible. Estimates of the total number of Iranians who thus left their country before, during, and after the advent of the Khomeyni regime range from 700,000 to nearly 1 million.

In France, a country which in the past was always enthusiastic about the Iranian intelligentsia, the number of Iranian refugees claiming to be in opposition to the /"mullah republic"/ is estimated at about 40,000. Monarchists, republicans who are fundamentally democratic, supporters of a /"strong"/ rightist regime, such are the three broad tendencies represented in France by a number of individuals.

Princess Azadeh Chafik, the shah's niece through her mother (Princess Achraf, the monarch's twin sister), whose brother, naval captain Chahryar Chafik, was assassinated in Paris on 7 December 1979, embodies the monarchist and legitimist tradition. Her movement, "Free Iran," which publishes, under that same name, two weekly news bulletins, one in French and the other in Farsi, stays in continual contact with Iran, from which it receives a great deal of intelligence on a daily basis.

Mr Nahavandi--former chief of staff for the empress Farah Diba, former rector of the Universities of Tehran and Tabriz--calls for national unity, which in his view is the only way to put an end to the present regime. Later, once Iran is freed from the grip of the religious fundamentalists, he would be prepared to see the country choose for itself a new regime--either a monarchy or a republic--through a national referendum. Though he was once a personal friend of the shah, Mr Nahavandi, considered by the monarchist cliques /to be on a separate track/ in the struggle to liberate Iran, is nonetheless an /"ally"/ of the cause.

General Bahram Ariana--former chief of staff of the imperial army, a brilliant officer out of St-Cyr, grand officier [rank above commander] of the Legion of Honor, the man who commanded the shah's troops in fighting with the Iraqis at the time of the border incidents in 1972--is a firm monarchist, in whose eyes the country's real destiny can only be achieved under Pahlavi rule. General Ariana, who has been in Paris since the Iranian revolution, left the capital on 25 July for a country /"neighboring"/ Iran, with the aim of personally fighting--probably in Baluchistan--alongside the tribes opposed to the Khomeyni regime.

The former prime minister, Shapour Bakhtiar, who is the best known of the exiles in France because of his many television appearances and because he was the object of an attempted assassination in July 1980, at Neuilly, continues to fight for the cause. The existence, on Iraqi soil, of a transmitter which continually broadcasts under the name Radio Iran to Iranians who have stayed in the country, providing news bulletins and making appeals to the resistance, contributes to giving his activities special "force." And on the other hand it would seem that he has at his disposal substantial financial resources, which is not the case with the other movements.

General Gholam-Ali Ovelssi, while he has remained very close to traditional monarchist circles, seems nevertheless to have retired now from any active political role. At about this time last year he did not hesitate to tell the weekly VSD that he would make himself /"master of Tehran"/ before the end of the following August. Similarly, Mr Ali Amini, a former prime minister, has apparently now abandoned any activity leading to the overthrow of the imam. But it is also true that Mr Amini is 77 years old.

Mr Hassan Nazih--describing himself as a partisan of a liberal republic, willingly using all those who resisted authority in the time of the shah--last year established the National Movement for the Liberation of Iran, which since that time has not received much attention. He is certainly more frequently criticized by his peers than any other exile. Even if he was, in the Pahlavi years, the president of the Iranian Human Rights League, Mr Nazih is criticized for having also been at the same time the president of the Iranian bar association and a personage with high rank at court, a status deemed incompatible with his "self-proclaimed" role of opponent to the throne.

9516

CSO: 4619/24

EXILED IRANIAN PRESIDENT DEFENDS HIS RECORD

PM041219 Paris LE MONDE in French 2-3 Aug 81 p 3

[Unattributed report: "Mr Bani-Sadr's Explanations on His Contacts With a CIA Agent"]

[Text] Following the publication of our journalist Eric Rouleau's article entitled "A Hunted Man" (LE MONDE 30 July), [former Iranian President] Mr Bani-Sadr sent us the following letter:

The documents seized in the American Embassy in Tehran to which your journalist refers were either wrongly translated into Persian or were mutilated. I did have a conversation with an American who was posing as a businessman, but I did so in the presence of several of my advisers. It is also true that he offered me the job of technical adviser to his firm. However the monthly salary he offered me was not \$1,000--as moreover was stated in one of the documents not printed by the Iranian press--but \$5,000. Obviously I was not taken in by this unusual and highly suspicious proposal. I therefore showed my American interlocutor the door.

If the Iranian Government had published all the documents in its possession, I am convinced that they would have reported my categorical refusal. However, one of the two documents published speaks for itself. This is what it states: 'Mr Bani-Sadr and his advisers are intransigent, and we would not be able to trust them. Mr Bani-Sadr is very intelligent, responsible and perspicacious, and the experience of recent years suggests that he will not align with our positions.' That is what the CIA agent thought of me.

Allow me also to give an additional detail about the Iranian people's reaction to the underhand coup d'etat which I have just suffered. The executions, murders and attacks and the high level of abstentions in last week's elections all reflect the people's resistance. With all due respect to skeptical observers, the second revolution which I have predicted has certainly started--a revolution which will sooner or later be crowned with success.

Moreover, my attitude to the United States has always been very clear. The attacks to which I have been subjected on this subject are unfounded. I have already stated that, in view of the Tudeh Communist Party's weakness and the political situation, the USSR does not seem to pose a serious threat to Iran. I have always upheld and implemented a policy of national independence. Today, as before, I think it is necessary to block the path of both the United States and the Soviet Union and of the political parties in our country favorable to them, which are now trying to seize power by every possible means.

CSO: 4619/29

PLAN ORGANIZATION TO UNDERGO RESTRUCTURING

Tehran KEYHAN in Persian 4 Aug 81 p 14

[Text] The restructuring of the Budget and Plan Organization will be carried out by joint councils on planning and expertise; the objective of this restructuring will be to make maximum use of employees' productivity. This was announced by engineer Musa Khayyer, minister of executive affairs and chairman of the Budget and Plan Organization during a press conference.

Engineer Khayyer started out by saying: "The work of becoming acquainted with an Islamic type of planning started 10 months ago—that is, from the time I came to the Budget and Plan Organization; considering the fact that a great deal of our time was spent on affairs of the day, the review of this organization's structure has taken until today."

He added: "We noticed that because of the special nature of the organization and the way it was structured, the affairs of the nation were being reviewed disjointedly and in isolated fashion, and the network that could provide full guidance to the performance of technology, of the economy, production, distribution and consumption was non-existent."

Engineer Khayyer continued by saying: "The structuring of this organization will be carried out by joint councils on planning and expertise, and its objective is to make maximum use of employees' productivity."

Regarding the manpower restructure of the organization, the chairman of the Budget and Plan Organization stated: "A committee has been formed in this organization consisting of deputies and advisors, and they have been revieweing this subject. If, in the course of personnel restructuring we find out about a surplus of employees, we shall transfer them to other sections where their talents could be used more appropriately."

He elaborated: "In the restructuring, we shall use the service of experts, who may occasionally lack the necessary (religious) commitment and faith, as working elements, but we shall not give them leading positions."

Continuing his remarks, Musa Khayyer said: "The employees will be ready to assume their positions after 10 days, in accordance with the restructuring and the duties newly assigned to them. The closing of this organization will not financially harm them." In conclusion, he said: "During the time the organization is closed down, some of the employees will be present at their jobs at the discretion of the organization's deputies so as not to stop the current work of the organization, such as the publication of the budget."

CSO: 4640/79

RELATIONS BETWEEN SOVIETS, KHOMEYNI REGIME DISCUSSED

London IRAN PRESS SERVICE in English 29 Jul 81 pp 5-6

[Text] The luring into Soviet airspace and shooting down of an Argentinian cargo plane could well be a new Soviet demonstration to Iran and the rest of the world that they are masters of the situation along their southern borders, an Iranian former official of the late Shah who played a top role in relations between Tehran and Moscow for many years commented to IPS this week.

"Two flights went by and then the Russians showed their hand as if to say, 'Look, we're in control here--why don't you turn to us?'" the official said.

"Soviet ambassador Vinogradov told a very shaken Khomeini after the blowing up of the IRP headquarters that he could rely on every possible support from the Russians," the former official said. "He had only to ask and it was his. We have heard this from Tehran, where the present officials are far too naive to keep such secrets for long."

The IPS informant said westerners would be equally naive if they thought the Soviet Union had ever relaxed in its determination to consolidate its influence over Iran. "Every dealing I had with them over those years demonstrated clearly their plans and their determination in that respect, and since the revolution they have steadily pursued a policy which would make their role a dominant one in any eventuality there."

Arrivals in Europe from Iran in recent months have provided evidence of the steadily expanding grip on much of the bureaucracy and industry of Tudeh party members and their supporters. "They have implanted themselves everywhere and it really doesn't matter if it were true that they are not popular with the mass of Iranians," the former official said. "Since the party had demonstrated its support for the Imam and the Islamic republic it can hardly have been said to have made itself unpopular."

"It is perfectly clear that Moscow is determined to ensure no repetition of the error of 1953, when the party was well organised and strong and by its failure to back the Mossadeq government put the ball back in the Shah's court," another commentator told IPS. "This time the organisation will help keep the mullah's regime working and will be intact when the regime goes the inevitable way of all such unwordly administrations. The fact that the Soviets are aware of this fact was demonstrated by the cooling of their relations with Tehran over recent months. This incident was obviously designed to embarrass the Iranians.

"Although one cannot go along with the appallingly stupid ideas that people have that pro-Moscow IRP people blew up Beheshti and his 'moderate' colleagues--if they were moderate then Hitler's SS men were, too--it has left the mullahs much weaker and thus played into the hands of Moscow to a great extent. And Moscow, with a far better understanding of oriental thinking, thanks largely to its own oriental populations, knows better than the West exactly how to exploit the situation."

Some Iranian observers of the scene in their country are especially concerned about the advantage of the Soviet now enjoys over the West in the level and competence of its oriental specialists. The departure from diplomatic services of the older brigade of experts who had much more power of decision and knew their areas more deeply than do the more regularly switched modern diplomats in the West, is one factor that has worked adversely for the West. Another has been the change in western societies which has produced a new race of "liberal-minded" younger diplomats who see the problems of the world almost purely from the point of view of their own societies, and have less understanding and certainly less sympathy for the conservative elements trying to halt anarchy in the East and the Third World in general, they say.

Even in London and other western capitals where there are large Iranian student communities the Russians are able to call on Persian-speaking Soviet nationals from the southern republics who can quickly and ably build up relations with young Iranians. The Mojahedin and other leftist groups outside are much more directly in contact with Soviet agents than are their compatriots at home, where the Soviet Union is seen as just another imperialistic nation.

At Speakers Corners in Hyde Park on Sundays, for example, a Persian-speaking journalist from Baku, in Soviet Azarbaijan, is on first name terms with dozens of leftist youngsters who make this a regular meeting place. He takes a leading role in trying to shout down Iranians who try to express purely nationalistic as distinct from commonplace leftist views on Iran. The fact that he retains such friendly relations with Mojahedin-e-Khalq and Fedayeen minority students who profess to be anti-Soviet reflects perhaps as much on the sincerity of their anti-Moscow stand as on his and his colleagues' perspicacity in obtaining their confidence.

Indeed, when pressed by questioners about their attitudes to the western powers the Mojahedin and other "nationalist" leftists quickly begin to take a pro-Eastern block stance, and when really pushed will openly defend the Soviet Union. At worst, they say, the Soviet Union is revisionist, but where Lenin's ideas have remained honoured it is a desirable system.

That the military inside Iran still keeps a wary eye open for Soviet moves is exemplified by reports received by IPS from Tehran sources that at least one high-ranking army officer has been arrested in a newly exposed pro-Soviet or directly inspired Soviet plot. The Tehran announcements of discovery of arms bases belonging to Marxist groups may be linked with this plot, the sources said. Reports said the plot was discovered by military sources.

"The Soviets have always been able to find a few people in the military who are ready to serve their purpose," one Iran watcher told IPS. "In the Shah's days they managed to keep well informed and there was, of course, one celebrated case where a general, who had been spying for many years, was caught red-handed giving documents to a Soviet agent. There is obviously the possibility that young officers fed up with the present situation in Iran might look at the Soviet Union as a possible saviour now that the West has firmly demonstrated it is looking after its own ends and not those of the Iranian people."

MAGAZINE REPORTS BEHESHTI'S SHADY DEALINGS

London IRAN PRESS SERVICE in English 29 Jul 81 pp 7-8

[Text] The West German magazine DER SPIEGEL has described the late Ayatollah Mohammad Beheshti, head of the Islamic Republican Party, who was killed in the recent bombing of its headquarters in Tehran, as a 'machiavellian character.'

It alleged that when the Shah visited Hamburg in 1976 he contrived to be away on a trip to avoid meeting him, and later flew to East Berlin to renew acquaintance and have meetings with the former Soviet consul in Hamburg and chief KGB organiser in northern Europe Vladimirov.

After his return to Tehran, the magazine article alleged, Beheshti turned to some plundering. He sold several very expensive carpets, including two pieces from one of the royal palaces, each of which had 1.2 million knots to a square metre and which had taken craftsmen 15 years to make.

It was also alleged that, as head of the Supreme Court Beheshti had taken big sums from families of political prisoners in Iran to spare their relatives' lives, but had not troubled to save them from execution.

The magazine also quoted dates and amounts which it said German banks had received transfers of money from Beheshti in Tehran. On 21 Aug 1979 he had sent 6,240,000 marks, on 30 Oct 1979, 305,000 marks; and on 19 Dec 1979 and 7 Apr 1980 on each occasion sums of 8 million marks. All the sums were sent to the Bank Melli Iran branch in Hamburg, but were afterwards transferred to Beheshti's accounts in other German banks by a close aide, the magazine said.

CSO: 4600/120

EXILES MOURN SHAH ON ANNIVERSARY

London IRAN PRESS SERVICE in English 29 Jul 81 p 8

[Text] Ceremonies to mark the first anniversary of the late Shah's death were held on Sunday and Monday almost everywhere in the world where Iranians are gathered in good numbers. London, Paris, Los Angeles, Bonn, Munich and many other cities saw crowds of up to more than a thousand people collected to recall the dead sovereign and put flowers around his photograph and that of his son, who has succeeded him.

They were sad ceremonies, with black-clad women often crying inconsolably and the air full of bitterness and a sense of despair. They were larger than many of the monarchist gatherings of the last couple of years because many Iranians who had previously remained aloof from them felt the need to come and try to identify with their compatriots once more, and at the same time air the sense of bitterness towards the western countries which is now almost the strongest single emotion among the exiles everywhere.

They feel betrayed and abandoned by the West, to which they always looked and with whom they enjoyed special relations under the Shah. The residence and visa problems they face, particularly in Britain, which pursues a not uncharitable but seemingly an unnecessarily officious and thus unnerving policy towards the Iranians who live here, have added to the anger the exiles feel over the failure of those erstwhile friends to foresee the effects of their abandonment of such a staunch ally as the late Shah.

One old man, in apparent anguish, told a British bystander in London, "No, we hope Khomeini doesn't go for a little while yet for we want every Iranian to rediscover his patriotism first so they will never rely for the tiniest thing on foreigners any more!"

The bitterness towards Britain was not only because people like him, who have adequate means but have to use them to help out less fortunate friends and relatives, are never allowed to feel they have secure residence here until it is safe to go home again; it is also due to the fact that Britain was always seen as the country which understood Iran and Iranians better than any other nation, he explained.

"When are all those British ambassadors, and scholars who were always our most honoured guests in Iran going to put in a word for us in the fact of all the libels and slanders printed and mouthed in the West which they know not to be true?" he demanded of the Briton. "Don't they have any principles at all, or is it they are busy currying favours elsewhere?"

As the crowd of several hundreds wound round the Mayfair street in front of the Egyptian embassy in London, waiting to lay their flowers at the foot of the Shah's picture, an IPS correspondent said one could also hear complaints against the seeming inactivity of those around the new Shah and of his father's former chief officials and business beneficiaries who also leave the publicising of the monarchist cause to stronger patriots of more modest status. There is now a real need of a new monarchist lead to boost the spirits of the exiles.

Many of those, too, who gathered now to take part in or watch from afar the ceremony were also moved enough to admit their own fickleness in not supporting the Shah more fervently when he was still in Iran. Although they prefer to publicly put most of the blame for their fate on the Carter administration in the U.S. in particular, and on other Western countries, more and more of the exiles--together with rising numbers in Iran itself--are bitterly regretting their mistake in not realising their advantages under the late Shah's rule.

The new Shah, in a message referred to on Israel radio, said the terror and the chaos and the suffering in Iran were tragic evidence of the fact that his father had, in fact, been a progressive politician.

CSO: 4600/120

IRAN

RAFSANJANI LINKS BANI-SADR TO BOMBINGS IN IRAN

NCO41212 Paris AFP in English 1203 GMT 4 Aug 81

[Text] Tehran, 4 Aug (AFP)--Iranian parliament speaker Hashemi Rafsanjani charged today that former President Abolhasan Bani-Sadr was linked to two bomb explosions yesterday that killed 14 people and injured 40.

In the first, a booby-trapped car blew up in Tehran, 200 meters (650 feet) from the offices of newly-elected President Mohammed 'Ali Raja'i, and not far from the Parliament building where Mr Raja'i was being sworn in.

That blast killed one person and injured 15, according to official figures. Among the injured were young children who were going for vaccinations at the Pasteur Institute.

In the second, in Kermanshah, capital of the western province of Kermanshahan, 13 people were killed and 25 injured when a bomb exploded near a telephone headquarters.

Mr Bani-Sadr and other "groups" in Paris who said they wanted "to expel the companions of the Imam (Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeyni) from the scene" were doubtless responsible for this "blind terrorism unprecedented in Iran," Hojjat ol-Eslam Rafsanjani said.

The parliament speaker also lashed out at the French Government for granting political asylum for the ousted former president, who arrived in Paris last Wednesday.

"No logic can justify, not even that of the mafia and gangsters...the allegedly socialist and human rights-defending French Government which grants political asylum to those people," Hojjat ol-Eslam Rafsanjani said.

He was apparently referring both to Mr Bani-Sadr and to Massoud Rajavi, the leader of the outlawed people's Mojaheddin, who helped the ex-president escape from Tehran aboard an Iranian air force jet.

Hojjat ol-Eslam Rafsanjani's criticism was the latest in a series of condemnations of France.

The daily Islamic Republic newspaper, the organ of the ruling Islamic Republic party, reported a demonstration Sunday in front of the French consulate in Isfahan, central Iran, in which several thousand protesters shouted "death to the fascist French Government."

The newspaper added that the national head of a committee for the disinherited, identified only as Hojjat ol-Eslam Salek, "enumerated crimes committed in Algeria, the massacre of Armenians and other disinherited in countries dominated by France."

The newspaper also printed an editorial denouncing "the growth of French arms sales to anti-popular regimes, vassals of the West."

CSO: 4600/122

LEBANESE WEEKLY INTERVIEWS BANI-SADR ON SITUATION

NC081130 Paris AFP in English 1118 GMT 8 Aug 81

[Text] Beirut 8 Aug (AFP)—Deposed Iranian President Abolhasan Bani-Sadr said today he asked Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeyni to stop a massive tide of executions in exchange for a halt to "sabotage by opposition forces" and dialogue between the two sides.

In an interview published today by the Lebanese weekly AL-KIFAH AL-'ARABI, he added that Ayatollah Khomeyni did not reply to the suggestion, made at an undisclosed date.

The former president, sacked by the Iranian fundamentalist regime for "political incompetence," described the executions of dissidents as a "massacre" and accused the Islamic tribunals of "disfiguring Islam."

He added that he had also asked Ayatollah Khomeyni to halt the executions in recognition of his 20 years' service to the Iranian spiritual leader.

Mas'ud Rajavi, head of the people's Mojahedin, the Moslem-leftist movement hardest hit by the executions, arrived in Paris on July 29 with Mr Bani-Sadr.

The former president told the magazine the ayatollah had created the revolution guards and the tribunals, and it was now up to him to "restructure the army, the police and other institutions."

On Iraq, at war with Iran for a year, the ousted president said that in the first months after the Iranian revolution two years ago Iraqi President Saddam Husayn sent an envoy to express solidarity with the new regime.

But Ayatollah Khomeyni rejected the advance, saying that to accept friendship from President Husayn would be to "deceive the hopes of the Iraqi people" of overthrowing him.

Mr Bani-Sadr accused Iraq of arming Kurdish insurgents and sending terrorist commandos into Iran. He also accused the United States of encouraging Iraq to attack Iran, "in the hope that it would all be over in a couple of days."

CSO: 4600/122

CLANDESTINE RADIO SCORES BANI-SADR; WARNS IRANIANS

NC051200 (Clandestine) Radio Iran in Persian to Iran 1330 GMT 4 Aug 81

[Station talk]

[Text] Compatriots! By confessing that he was deceived by Khomeyni, that his assessment of Khomeyni was completely wrong and that he was wrong in seeing Khomeyni as a savior, Bani-Sadr shows that neither did he have the power of political foresight nor can he be trusted as a politician.

With his recent interviews which have been tantamount to a penitence, Bani-Sadr shows his great lack of political dignity and the mistakes he makes in his political assessments. With his flagrant (?change) of policy Bani-Sadr shows that he lacked political (?foresight) both in Neuphle-le-Chateau and in Tehran. These great political (?mistakes), which were paid for in the chaos and the unsettling of the Iranian society, show that today too Bani-Sadr's assessments are not free of mistakes and that tomorrow he may seek justice and apologize for mistakes he commits today.

Bani-Sadr's mistakes are not such as can be forgiven by saying "sorry, I won't do it again." Bani-Sadr's mistake was that he played with the destiny of a nation. Bani-Sadr's sins are not personal sins of which he himself will bear the consequences. With his wrong (?calculations) that involved the life and (?destiny) of a nation, Bani-Sadr became an element in an unending (?range) of crimes and calamities. He played the major role in destroying Iran's economy and his biggest sin--if we accept the fact that he made a mistake merely in his assessment of Khomeyni--was his political shortsightedness.

Today Bani-Sadr is committing another mistake. He is trying to return to a position for the undertaking of which he lacks all merit and competence. Who of the vigilant Iranian people will trust Bani-Sadr's political (?knowledge)? Bani-Sadr's blunders (?started a bloodbath) in Iran. Who would want a repeat of this deadly mistake?

By confessing to his big political (mistake now) Bani-Sadr clearly shows that he is 2 and 1/2 years behind time. When 2 and 1/2 years ago, Shapur Bakhtiar warned in a hundred (?ways that tyrannical) dictatorship is coming, couldn't Bani-Sadr hear the shout of danger and warning? But at that time (?he could not) hear these shouts. He was too carried away by his imam's promises and he could not use his logic.

The truth is that Bani-Sadr did not commit a mistake. He has only turned from Khomeyni or, in other words, Khomeyni has turned from him and this because Khomeyni was not prepared to place the whole morsel of power in Bani-Sadr's mouth. If Khomeyni had fulfilled Bani-Sadr's opportunistic requests, today Bani-Sadr would have still been in Tehran and would have been saying "oh imam, imam" and he would have been issuing the execution orders for persons who had in the slightest insulted the imam.

CSO: 4640/80

FRG MAGAZINE INTERVIEWS BANI-SADR

DW040906 Hamburg DER SPIEGEL in German 3 Aug 81 pp 90-93

[Interview with former Iranian President Bani-Sadr in his Paris apartment by editor Renate Possarnig, date not given]

[Text] SPIEGEL: Mr Bani-Sadr, almost 3 years ago you and Ayatollah Khomeyni prepared the overthrow of the shah from Paris. Now you are here again—without Khomeyni. What are your feelings?

Bani-Sadr: I am very sad, and I am still dreaming of it. Khomeyni will see that he made a mistake at the time. True, what we did in Paris at the time, the program we made was revolutionary. It envisaged the unity of religious and intellectual ideas and was to initiate an integration of all sections of the people. But in the last analysis all these ideas have not been implemented.

SPIEGEL: But as president you were very much responsible for this.

Bani-Sadr: As president I was powerless. But as the representative of a strong movement of the intellectuals and the people I was influential. Today I feel stronger, and this must be assessed positively, because I have managed to awaken the national awareness. The people today are no longer what they were 2 years ago.

SPIEGEL: But in Iran itself things look very miserable today. What has become of the strong man Khomeyni?

Bani-Sadr: He is a weak man. He changes his mind very often, depending on what movement is exerting pressure on him. It was only because of this weakness that the catastrophe was possible. But he is not responsible for everything.

I believed in him 20 years. Together we returned to Iran, both having the same ideas. But gradually his ideas changed, because the ratio of forces in Iran has changed. On the one hand, there were the progressive Iranians who gradually lost influence, and on the other hand, there were the reactionary forces.

SPIEGEL: Do you mean to say that Khomeyni is not a wise man?

Bani-Sadr: If you don't criticize yourself you will become the slave of your demands and wishes. Khomeyni in power has become the slave of power. There is

a power which is constructive, and there is a power which is destructive. An alcoholic, for instance, becomes the prisoner of wine. He drinks and drinks and drinks, and nothing is left in the end.

SPIEGEL: You are talking about a power-greedy Khomeyni...

Bani-Sadr: There is another type of power who is enslaved as well, true, but who also is an organizer to strengthen his power, like Hitler in Germany. Hitler had an organizational talent which enabled him to stay in power. Khomeyni, however, is sick; he is not well.

SPIEGEL: You don't talk very friendly about a man who said you were his spiritual son.

Bani-Sadr: But the father has lost his mind and thus also his son.

SPIEGEL: How did this breach happen?

Bani-Sadr: One year ago we discovered the plan of a coup d'etat which in my view came from the Americans as well as people who were very close to power and wanted to conquer absolute power at any price. It was a slow and lingering process. These people planned to make the people and Khomeyni oppose me. They didn't succeed, because the people had confidence in me, but they did succeed in dividing Khomeyni and me.

SPIEGEL: When did you realize this?

Bani-Sadr: Two and a half months ago, events followed in a rapid succession. I suggested a referendum. This shocked Khomeyni very much. He feared the people would possibly vote for me and against him. That would have been his end and the end of the Islamic Republican Party.

SPIEGEL: The people sided with you?

Bani-Sadr: At the time Khomeyni made his first public speech against me. Then I went to Shiraz where the people received me with extraordinary enthusiasm. They encouraged me and asked me indirectly to criticize Khomeyni. Earlier, when I took the floor, the slogan was: "Long live Bani-Sadr! Long live Khomeyni." This time people only shouted: "Long live Bani-Sadr," and they also shouted "Bani-Sadr, fight against whomever..." This infuriated Khomeyni even more.

SPIEGEL: Then you saw that a confrontation was inevitable?

Bani-Sadr: In my home city of Hamadan I learned at a large rally that Khomeyni had prohibited my newspaper. One day later Khomeyni delivered a very touch speech against me. When I subsequently gave a speech in another city the population welcomed its president very cordially and demonstrated against Khomeyni. That was for me the beginning of the end. I then received an ultimatum from Khomeyni saying that I could remain president and supreme commander if I collaborated with Beheshti and his clique.

SPIEGEL: Beheshti was the head of the Islamic Republican Party and, as supreme judge, a sort of grey eminence. You didn't want to cooperate with him?

Bani-Sadr: I refused. I don't find titles like president and supreme commander and the like important. What mattered to me was to govern and to fight for freedom and independence. What is left today of Iran's independence: we are waging a war, our economy is much more dependent than at the time of the shah, and in the technical field we are also more dependent than we were previously. Our freedom, too, is in a worse state than under the shah. There is no freedom of the press and of opinion, arbitrary executions, imprisonment and tortures have become a daily routine.

SPIEGEL: All this happened while you were president of Iran.

Bani-Sadr: I didn't want a presidency under such conditions. Then one day I learned that Khomeyni had ousted me as president and supreme commander.

SPIEGEL: But you didn't want to simply accept this?

Bani-Sadr: I decided to do nothing. I went home to my wife--I, the innocent victim. There she and my friends asked me: What are you going to do? I said, I am going to resign myself to my fate, because I knew this was a coup d'etat which would be followed by Parliament giving its blessing and then by my execution. But my wife said, you must offer resistance. She insisted. I followed her advice. To that moment I had not thought about resistance at all. I went underground without having prepared myself at all for it.

SPIEGEL: Did you have anything to do with the bomb attempt in which 72 people were killed, including 21 parliamentarians and your deadly enemy Beheshti?

Bani-Sadr: On the day of the explosion I happened to be close by and I heard the detonation. Somebody phoned me and reported that there had been an explosion at the Islamic Republican Party's headquarters. I still don't know who is responsible. I can only imagine that it was Beheshti himself.

SPIEGEL: The mullah committed suicide?

Bani-Sadr: You can hardly express it like that. The matter is quite simple: When you keep suppressing other people and abolish all rights, this is bound to have consequences in the end. When you oust a president who was elected by the people you shouldn't be surprised that the response is an explosion. Three or 4 days before Parliament met I said in a communique that the rulers in Iran were striving for an absolute power monopoly.

SPIEGEL: But who is responsible for the attempt, do you think?

Bani-Sadr: The rulers themselves, because they have betrayed the revolution. This revolution was symbolized by three values: the Islamic Republic, independence and freedom. This means, a people who consider Islam as being in line with their free and independent development.

SPIEGEL: In what way was the revolution betrayed?

Bani-Sadr: My opponents betrayed Islam, because the Islam they represented was no longer compatible with freedom. Thus they have also betrayed freedom. We are more dependent today than we were previously and we have civil war in our country.

SPIEGEL: But you yourself not only watched these developments over a long time but also caused them. Why didn't you evade this responsibility earlier by resigning?

Bani-Sadr: If I had resigned I would have lost every influence. After all, as president I could speak, I had an own newspaper, I gave interviews...

SPIEGEL: What did you change?

Bani-Sadr: I struggled within the system and in doing so was successful. After all, the despotic dictatorship of the monarchy lasted 2,500 years, the dictatorship of the religious people only 2 years.

SPIEGEL: Will this dictatorship come to an end soon?

Bani-Sadr: I don't really see a change of survival for them. They are incapable of any organization.

SPIEGEL: But who can organize the country today?

Bani-Sadr: I can.

SPIEGEL: From Paris?

Bani-Sadr: No, no, I am going to return to Iran in a few months. The citizens who abstained from voting in the recent presidential elections are my people. The armed forces side with me and most intellectuals are my followers. What must be prevented is the transformation from being connected with bloodshed.

SPIEGEL: So you want to bring Khomeyni's end?

Bani-Sadr: He is supported by 15 percent of the people, and this is enough to remain in power, if you use repressive methods. If he had the support of the masses he would not have to resort to repressive methods.

SPIEGEL: You said that you are backed by the army. Why didn't you use the military for yourself?

Bani-Sadr: This was repeatedly offered to me, but I think you stage a coup d'etat only if you don't believe in the power of the people. In addition, I don't want to replace one dictatorship with another one.

SPIEGEL: What possibilities are left for you? Do you want to open resistance in Iran by channelling cassettes with your recorded speeches into the country, as Khomeyni did 3 years ago?

Bani-Sadr: I can do that, but it is not enough. When I was underground in Tehran, I did precisely that. I also used cassettes in my political struggle. It is very important to inform and activate public opinion.

SPIEGEL: But now you are sitting in an apartment in Paris and must allow people to ask you whether the revolution was worthwhile, whether it was worthwhile to eliminate the shah regime.

Bani-Sadr: The people are awake. They have become aware of their situation. This was not so under the shah regime. The revolution was no mistake.

SPIEGEL: What sort of person is your successor, President Raja'i?

Bani-Sadr: A weak man who is happy to have the title of a president. Khomeyni characterized him correctly: he is an illiterate wise man.

SPIEGEL: How do you assess his political chances of survival?

Bani-Sadr: There is civil war everywhere in Iran, and this civil war will aggravate. On the eve of the presidential elections the Mojahedin-e Khalq undertook 120 military actions against the government.

SPIEGEL: Will Khomeyni with his charisma be able to halt these developments?

Bani-Sadr: No.

SPIEGEL: How is it possible at all for a country which is at war with another country, Iraq, to simultaneously afford civil war, for the president to be informed by the press about his removal? What is still functioning in this country where the economy and trade practically have collapsed?

Bani-Sadr: How did the Germans stand the war? At any rate, it is hell.

SPIEGEL: When you escaped from hell Wednesday evening and left the plane in Paris people noted only one change about you, your moustache was gone. Is it true that you left your homeland disguised as a woman?

Bani-Sadr: No, I left my country like a soldier--in a uniform.

SPIEGEL: Mr Bani-Sadr, we thank you for this talk.

CSO: 4620/8

CLANDESTINE RADIO HITS BANI-SADR RESPONSE TO BAKHTIAR

NC071636 (Clandestine) Free Voice of Iran in Persian to Iran 1500 GMT 7 Aug 81

[Text] In a letter to the French publication LE MONDE, Abolhasan Bani-Sadr has stated a few points in reply to Shapur Bakhtiar. In his letter Bani-Sadr replies to Bakhtiar's accusations as follows:

1. I was in no way involved in the formation of the revolutionary courts and the revolution guards corps, and I always opposed the methods of trials and the executions. I even succeeded in saving several from certain death. I announced several times that the trial of officials of the former regime should be open trials;
2. It is true that I opposed the possible meeting and agreement between Bakhtiar and Khomeyni in 1979. The reason for my opposition was that I wanted to cut short from Iran the hand of the Americans with the approval of whom Shapur Bakhtiar had become prime minister. On the other hand, it should not be forgotten that Bakhtiar (?played a large part in removing pro-Mosaddeq intellectuals).
3. [Words indistinct] Ayatollah Khalkhali, and I had not appointed him to this post. According to the Islamic laws he was a shar' magistrate and could act as he deemed suitable. I repeatedly informed Khomeyni in letters about Khalkhali and even once showed a film on one of his trials to officials in order to inform them of his (?summary) trials. The only job I gave Khalkhali was to put him in charge of the antidrug campaign and in the orders I gave him I reminded him to avoid rashness.
4. As I have repeatedly stated, we left Tehran with the help of the armed forces and in a military aircraft. Doesn't this prove the armed forces' support for me and the weakness of the officials in charge?
5. It would have been easy for me to neglect and ignore the government's policy and executions and the violation of the law and to keep my post as commander in chief and president.
6. I have said many times and repeat that Iran without Islam does not exist. Islam is the main pillar of our national identity, but, if responsible officials, be they civilian or religious, want to establish dictatorship in the country, they are not Muslims.

After replying to each one of Shapur Bakhtiar's condemnations, Bani-Sadr writes: By accepting to compromise with the shah's regime Bakhtiar committed treason to the nation.

The Free Voice of Iran wishes to recall one point as far as Mr Bani-Sadr's opinions as stated in his reply to Dr Shapur Bakhtiar is concerned and that is that as confessed by Khomeyni's regime and officials, it was Bani-Sadr who (?colluded) with the Americans and took Mr Khomeyni's hand and took the exiled mullah from al-Najaf to Paris. It was the United States that forced its spies Yazdi and Qotbzadeh to become Khomeyni's tongue and arm and to overthrow the regime of the late shah which had been trapped in America's trap. Therefore, Mr Bani-Sadr's claim is an empty claim and Mr Shapur Bakhtiar is a true patriot who, if he had yielded to the Americans, would have become president of Khomeyni's regime as did Mr Bani-Sadr and would have kissed Mr Khomeyni's hand. The meeting of Ramsey Clark with Khomeyni and of (Catton) with Yazdi and Qotbzadeh and the confidential documents on the talks between Beheshti and U.S. officials especially Huyser have ruled out any acquittal of Khomeyni's U.S.-Israeli officials, including Bani-Sadr himself.

CSO: 4619/29

IRAN

BANI-SADR: 'WE WERE DECEIVED AT NEAUPHLE'

PM041156 Paris LE MATIN in French 1-2 Aug 81 p 8

[Interview with former Iranian President Abolhasan Bani-Sadr by Marie-Claude Decamps: "Bani-Sadr: I Overestimated Khomeyni"--date not given]

[Text] "In the aircraft which was taking us toward Tehran I said to myself with emotion that Khomeyni's return to Iran was rather like the light finally returning to the earth.... On Tuesday evening, hiding in the Boeing which was fleeing to Paris, I felt that I had been completely taken in...."

February 1979, July 1981: From Cachan to Cachan, Abolhasan Bani-Sadr's strange epic has just ended. Nothing has changed in his apartment in Rue Du Pont-Royal, guarded by the police. The only difference is that in the gloom behind the half-closed curtains, the walls are covered with photographs showing Bani-Sadr on a motorbike, a helmeted Bani-Sadr on the Iraqi front, Bani-Sadr in Parliament and so forth--in a word, Bani-Sadr in power. This makes it rather like a museum already.

Just as in the good days, his friends are there too, waiting in this rather stifling intimacy, surrounding this deposed president who intends to remain president despite his exile, and who seems anxious to justify himself in their eyes.

"On what do I base my legitimacy? I was elected, the people are with me. If I had been allowed to hold the referendum I had asked for against Parliament, I would have won. If...." Sitting on his sofa Bani-Sadr wearily argued his case.

He is probably bitter. Is he lucid? Bani-Sadr, almost rejuvenated by his trials, dwelt on the story of "his" revolution, which is primarily his personal story. Firuzeh, his daughter, was sitting beside him and nodding to encourage him: "I have never doubted my father, he does not lose heart."

Bani-Sadr sees no sign of weakness in this escape at night, in a borrowed uniform, after months in hiding and this very symbolic return to Cachan where he had already spent 15 years in exile. "Leaving a country by taking off from the most heavily guarded international airport in the world under the authorities' nose proves just how inconsistent the authorities are. If this shows up anybody's weakness, it is theirs."

[Question] Why leave?

[Answer] Precisely to demonstrate their weakness. And also because it was becoming increasingly difficult to ensure my safety in Tehran. Too many people were mobilized solely to ensure that. People had to keep watch all round the block of houses where I was hiding. They reported every Pasdaran (Revolution Guards) automobile.... I had to move four times in 2 months. On 28 June when the Islamic Republican Party headquarters was blown up I was nearby. I even felt the explosion.... [Answer ends]

I Said to Myself: It's Over

Moreover Bani-Sadr had not wanted to go into hiding. It was his friends and his wife Ozra who urged him to do so. "It was the evening when, on my return from Khorramshahr, I discovered that Khomeyni had dismissed me from my post as commander in chief of the armed forces," he explained. "I said to myself: It's over now. The next stage will be my dismissal from political office and, finally, my execution. Like a rebellious son who knows that resisting serves no purpose, I was resigned to playing in full the role of 'siavosh.' In the Iranian tradition he is the innocent, sacrificial victim. Then I reacted and decided to fight. I went into hiding."

Bani-Sadr looked at his friends and nodded at the giant photograph of Imam Khomeyni holding out his arms over the head of his former adviser. At the time it was a gesture of protection. "In the final analysis, my only mistake was that I overestimated him. In Neauphle everybody believed that he had adopted the Iranian intelligentsia's new ideas. After all it was the intelligentsia who made him, not the religious hierarchy. The imam used to say: 'Power is a scale with two pans, the clerics in one and the intellectuals in the other.' His pan of intellectuals was soon emptied: the scale is now tipping in one direction. It is as if he were now the prisoner of the Islamic institutions which he himself created. He no longer has any areas of support. He has alienated the moderate clerics. He has even alienated the nationalists." "I told him," Bani-Sadr recalled, looking round for signs of approval, "not to touch Mossadeq's memory. He made that mistake too. The nationalist leaders supported me. It was even one of them who was first to help me and hold out his hand to me when the fundamentalists succeeded in ousting me. Khomeyni is decimating the Mojahedin, who have had a real popular structure for the past 17 years. Since he is cut off from everything, even from the army, all he can do is use force. Like the shah after all...."

What about the stifled press, the massacre of the Kurds, the execution of students, the economic chaos? Is Bani-Sadr denying his responsibility for them all the more so because he feels responsible for having backed these actions? "I was opposed to it all," he shouted, "the emergency courts, the militia, the seizure of the American Embassy. From my first day as president of the republic I was, paradoxically, a 'president in opposition.' I will say so, I will even write a book about it."

[Question] Why has Khomeyni changed?

"Power corrupts!" the former president said bitterly. "In the first few days after his return to Tehran the imam wanted to abandon everything. I had to persuade him to stay. Now it's different!"

An Old Man To Be Pitied

Bani-Sadr once again looked inquiringly at the faces surrounding him: "How could it have been predicted at Neauphle that one day he would have 5-year-old children shot? We wanted to keep a certain aura of 'greatness' about him but in the end that was more than he could take.... I regarded him as a 'savior.' Now I see him merely as an old man to be pitied."

[Question] Is the return to Cachan ultimately the acknowledgement of total defeat?

[Answer] Yes, in a way, because we were deceived at Neauphle. But in the space of 2 years we have awakened Iranian awareness, and it has developed more than it had in 100 years. That is the most important thing.

[Question] Are these the words of an exiled man trying to console himself?

[Answer] It is true that leaving your country and joining the tide of other refugees can be seen as a kind of failure. It means doing the same as all those who arrive saying that they are going to 'return' home in force and who never go back.... At the same time there are positive aspects; the opposition, especially since my agreement with the Mojahedin, will be able to organize outside the country and create a front in which all the groups supporting our ideas will be united. This is also one of the essential reasons why I have returned to Paris: It was necessary to justify Iran on the international stage. In this connection I am counting on Europe a great deal.

[Question] Is France not making you pay too dearly for Khomeyni's precedent?

[Answer] I was expecting this reception; it is only natural after the Khomeyni experience. But I also think that, in a way, a socialist government should be more aware of our position....

You will see, Cachan will be a second Neauphle, to save the country from civil war just as the first (at least in its intentions) cut the ground from under the Americans' feet by installing Khomeyni in power. In any case I can assure you that it will not be a suresnes (residence of Shapur Bakhtiar, the shah's last prime minister). [Answer ends]

The former president smiled for the first time: "When you have been to the Iraqi front amid the shelling and have been chased by Iranian aircraft, which, by the way, are less dangerous than the Iraqi aircraft, you are not quick to give in."

CSO: 4619/29

CLANDESTINE RADIO COMMENTS ON BAKHTIAR'S NRMI PROGRAM

NC061550 (Clandestine) Radio Iran in Persian to Iran 1330 GMT 6 Aug 81

[Unattributed talk: "Bakhtiar and the National Resistance Movement of Iran"]

[Text] Last week, when replying to a correspondent's question on the possibility of his uniting with people like Bani-Sadr, the leader of the National Resistance Movement of Iran [NRMI] Dr Shapur Bakhtiar referred to the part played by Bani-Sadr and his likes in establishing Ruhollah Khomeyni's antipopular regime and his participation in all the regime's crimes, pointing out something very noteworthy. Dr Bakhtiar said: The difference between us and Bani-Sadr's group is a fundamental one which stems from the fact that we believe in the establishment of a social-democratic system based on the nation's sovereignty, while Bani-Sadr and his associates are speaking about changing the policy of the clerical dictatorship into, what they say, is a true Islamic republic.

This single sentence by Dr Shapur Bakhtiar shows that in a government envisaged by the NRMI strugglers, the rule will be lawful and the law will be voted by the nation, which will have freedom of expression. Under Iran's future government the press will freely and uncensored inform the nation of all political, economic, social and cultural issues as was the case during the short premiership of Dr Shapur Bakhtiar.

We will sacrifice our lives in the struggle for freedom so that each and every one of the Iranian people can be free in expressing their view and opinion, even if this view and opinion differs from ours. In the Iran that we want to build, all political parties and groups will be free and able to propagate their views, unthreatened and without pressure. In that case the Parliament--as the true elected representative of the nation and the strongest ruling organ--will supervise the correct management of the nation's rightful needs in all fields and the country's affairs. Freedom of press will be the guarantor for honest elections and the true representatives of the nation will be the guarantors for freedom of the press.

In the social and economic field the NRMI wants to ensure social justice through the correct implementation of socialism. Therefore health care, housing, education, employment and the insurance for the future will be offered to all people of Iran. In Iran's future system material shortage will in no way mar the Iranian citizen's human dignity. On the other hand, with the change in the taxation system, measures will be taken to prevent the accumulation of wealth by specific people or groups and, especially, the exploitation of humans by humans will cease.

As for relations with other countries of the world, the NRMI believes that while respecting the principles of peaceful coexistence with all countries of the world, and establishing friendly relations with all nations, Iran should grant priority to the preservation of independence, territorial integrity and national interests and consider these as basic principles in its political economic and cultural relations with other nations.

What we discussed in short is a summary of NRMI views as far as management of the country's affairs is concerned. Our fundamental difference with groups like the Bani-Sadr clique--irrespective of their participation in all the crimes of the present regime--stems from the fact that they do not accept [words indistinct]. Under no condition can we unite with individuals or groups that (?do not) [word indistinct] national sovereignty; therefore it is natural (?for us to disagree) with those who want the continuation of dictatorship of the vice regency of the supreme jurisconsult with (?slight) differences in this system. Also groups that do not respect the wishes and views of the nation and want to impose on our nation communist economic systems with an Islamic facade are at great variance with us. These are the fundamental differences to which Dr Shapur Bakhtiar refers in his interviews.

CSO: 4640/80

BRIEFS

RESISTANCE HEADQUARTERS ESTABLISHED—In order to safeguard our Islamic revolution, which has cost us the blood of 60,000 martyrs and more than 100,000 disabled, the Aghajari Revolution Guards Corps Mobilization Department has founded a resistance headquarters to guard and protect the city. All Muslim and devoted brothers interested in joining this headquarters are asked to contact the mobilization central headquarters in Omidiyeh, the Revolution Guard Corps office in Ja'far Square and Revolution Guard Corps headquarters in Miyanpur for registration. [Text] [GF041425 Ahvaz Domestic Service in Persian 1330 GMT 4 Aug 81]

CLAIMS OF REVOLUTION GUARDS DESERTING—Fear of the nation's wrath cast its shadow on the session of the mullahs' majlis yesterday. Sheykh Hashemi-Rafsanjani, the chief mullah of the majlis, called on the regime's security forces to crush opponents. Sheykh Montazeri requested the security forces of Khomeyni's regime to "guide" the deputies so that they will not be targets of assassination attempts. We wish to recall that the revolution guards themselves are not safe from the wrath of the nation and according to information we receive each day several revolution guards leave this antipopular corps and join the combatant forces. [Text] [NC061440 (Clandestine) Radio Iran in Persian to Iran 1330 GMT 6 Aug 81]

TERRORISTS RECRUITING IN BELFAST CLAIMED—Recently, Hadi Ghaffari, leader of the clubwielders who are on the payroll of the Islamic Republic Party, came to PARIS and attended meetings in the embassy of Khomeyni's regime together with 12 revolution guards. Even though Hadi Ghaffari did not give any details of the reason behind his trip, Iranian freedom-seekers in Paris have found out what his mission was. Without being able to leave his hotel very often he left Paris for Belfast, Ireland. Some political observers say that Hadi Ghaffari intends to recruit northern Ireland terrorists for terrorist activities abroad and the assassination of opponents of Khomeyni's regime. Opponents of Khomeyni's regime are also investigating the details of Ghaffari's mission to Belfast. [Text] [NC071700 (Clandestine) Free Voice of Iran in Persian to Iran 1500 GMT 7 Aug 81]

GUARDS REFUSING EXECUTION ORDERS—The wave of the killing and massacre of the people of Iran and of the nation's combatant youths by the bloodthirsty executioner of the Islamic regime continues. Yesterday, 38 Iranian nationalists were killed by the firing squad of Ruhollah Khomeyni's hireling revolution guards. Our correspondents have reported from various Iranian cities that the clerical regime has formed new execution groups, because many of the revolution guard youths refuse to murder their compatriots. It is said that the new execution squads are formed of religious

students of Qom's Feyziyeh School. Our correspondent reports from Tehran that a revolution guard who refused to shoot young girls in Evin Prison was sentenced to death and executed. Another report states that combatant national organizations have warned officials of the regime by various means that they will avenge the blood of their martyred brothers and sisters. [Text] [NC081641 (Clandestine) Radio Iran in Persian to Iran 1330 GMT 8 Aug 81]

RESIGNATION OF GENDARMERIE CHIEF--As you know, each and every one of the officials in Khomeyni's regime who are not prepared to serve a fascist and dictatorial regime are either being dismissed or are resigning. The resignation of the commander of Khomeyni's gendarmerie is also connected with this, since the freedom-seekers of Iran will not forgive anyone who cooperates with this regime and who participates in the crimes committed by Khomeyni's anti-Islamic and anti-Iranian regime and who will have to testify to their crimes in national courts. [Text] [NC081736 (Clandestine) Free Voice of Iran in Persian to Iran 1500 GMT 8 Aug 81]

TUDEH MEMBERS IN RADIO-TELEVISION--According to well informed sources in Tehran, the mullahs regime controls only the newcasts on radio and television. The rest of the programs are completely under the influence of Tudeh members. This party, which is still faithful to the imam, in order to be in a position to carry its treacherous operations--just like the mullahs--has long had its claws on the radio and television and all the important positions of production and program preparation. A number of Tudeh members in charge of program production operate in the guise of mullahs and are working in the radio and television with clerical beards and attire. [Text] [GF111356 (Clandestine) Voice of Iran in Persian 0330 GMT 11 Aug 81]

KHOMAYNI'S REMARKS REPORTED--Ruhollah Khomeyni, following weeks of silence, gave a sermon yesterday in which he again said: All people have the religious duty to keep their neighbors under surveillance and take note of their actions. He openly said: Everyone must control everyone else, this being a decree of Islam. The imam of Jamaran added: Anyone who cannot stop his child from opposition by advice has the religious duty to inform the local committee or revolution guards about him. If he does not do that, he will also be a party to the crime. Referring to the assassination of heads of the regime and various bombings, Khomeyni said: Such things are unimportant since we have revolted, and the explosion of several bombs has no importance. [Text] [GF111557 (Clandestine) Radio Iran in Persian to Iran 1330 GMT 11 Aug 81]

ARREST OF FAKURI RUMORED--It is being rumored in Tehran that Colonel Fakuri has been dismissed from his position and has been arrested. This rumor strengthened following today's meeting between armed forces commanders and the leader of the executioners, Khomeyni. Fakuri, the air force commander, did not attend this meeting. Colonel Fakuri has not participated in (?recent) meetings either. [Text] [GF121614 (Clandestine) Free Voice of Iran in Persian to Iran 1500 GMT 12 Aug 81]

AID FOR KHOMAYNI'S OVERTHROW--Cairo, 6 Aug (AFP)--Reza Pahlavi, who declared himself shah of Iran in succession to his father in October, revealed today he was in contact with top Iranian opposition figures with the aim of overthrowing the government of Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeyni. Reza, 20, who has lived here with his mother the empress Farah since the shah's death in July 1980, mentioned a concerted plan among opposition leaders but stressed he had not revealed the contacts earlier to avoid "putting in danger the lives of those who are the best hope for the people." Reza Shah called on the Iranian people to "prepare themselves to participate in the uprising" against the rule of the ayatollahs. His appeal would be recorded and sent of [as received] 50,000 cassettes to Iran, he added. [Text] [NC060957 Paris AFP in English 0952 GMT 6 Aug 81]

JORDAN

OIL EXPLORATION UNDERWAY; AGREEMENT WITH YUGOSLAV FIRM

Amman AL-DUSTUR in Arabic 11 Jun 81 p 2

[Article from PETRA: "Local News: Implementation of Oil Exploration Program in Kingdom Begins; Agreement Signed with Yugoslav Firm To Provide Drill and Its Crew; Dakhqan Says, 'We Will Begin Digging the First Well in al-Azraq Area in 2 Months' "]

[Text] An agreement between the Natural Resources Authority and the Yugoslav Naphtha Gas Company was signed yesterday at the [offices of the] authority. According to the agreement the Yugoslav firm is to provide a drill and its crew for oil exploration purposes in the kingdom's territories.

The agreement was signed for the authority by Engineer Ahmad Dakhqan, deputy director of the Natural Resources Authority; and it was signed for the firm by the vice president of the board of directors of the Yugoslav company.

The signing [ceremony] was attended by Engineer Yusuf al-Nimri, general manager of the authority; the Yugoslav ambassador to Amman; a number of officials in the authority; and members of the Yugoslav Embassy in Amman.

Engineer Dakhqan stated that the conclusion of this agreement comes in the context of the authority's efforts to implement the oil exploration program in the kingdom. "In the past we had made seismic surveying agreements with international companies for surveying 6,000 longitudinal miles in various areas of the kingdom."

He indicated that there were three seismic surveying teams that had begun working since early last April.

He said, "We are hoping that drilling in the first well in the area of al-Azraq will begin in 2 and a half months. This [well] falls under the group of wells that will be drilled in the same area in the light of the results that will be achieved from the drilling."

He added, "The authority has made the necessary arrangements to enter into

agreements with specialized companies to complement the drilling operations. [Such supplementary activities include] azimuth surveying, photographing the wells and analyzing the data. These are services that are closely associated with deep drilling. A professional organization from the authority and a number of advisers will supervise the implementation of the drilling operations."

Dakhqan said that drilling costs per year are estimated to be 2 million dinars and that a drill can dig about 10,000 meters a year.

Engineer Yusuf al-Nimri, general manager of the authority discussed seismic survey operations with the correspondent of the Jordanian News Agency. He said that the surveying process is considered one of the most important oil exploration activities and one of the most critical in regulating and programming exploratory drilling operations. In addition, surveying operations are pursued because of geological, geo-chemical and geo-physical studies [they provide]. These are useful not only in determining drilling sites, but they also help in controlling expenditures in general.

8592

CSO: 4304/52

RURAL ELECTRIFICATION PROJECTS REPORT

Amman AL-DUSTUR in Arabic 14 Jun 81 p 5

[Article by Hamid al-Sa'aydah: "Local News: 26.8 Million Dinars for Furnishing Lights to 284 Villages in the Kingdom; Names of Villages That Will Be Furnished with Lights during the 5-Year Plan"]

[Text] A Jordanian Power Authority report on rural electrification projects in Jordan stated that the number of villages in the kingdom, according to 1979 statistics, was about 980. These villages are inhabited by close to 723,000 persons. This is equal to 38.5 percent of the total population of the kingdom.

The report made it clear that the Jordanian Power Authority was devoting much attention to supplying electricity to the largest number possible of the residents of these villages in accordance with the technical and material capabilities that are available.

On the basis of this principle the authority did complete a number of rural electrification projects in the Jordan Valley and in the governorate of al-Karak during the 1976-1980 5-Year plan. It has also begun the implementation of another number of projects in other areas. These projects come under the new 5-Year plan and will be completed in 1982-1983.

The report stated that in extending the interest in supplying electricity to the remaining villages in the various areas, the Jordanian Power Authority and the power companies have committed themselves to new programs that are currently being implemented. These will be completed during the present 1981-1985 5-Year plan. These projects are:

--The rural electrification project in the governorates of Amman and al-Balqa'.

The Jordanian Power Company is supplying electricity to 82 new villages in the area under its jurisdiction. This area is inhabited by about 89,000 persons. The project will be completed between 1981 and 1984 so that a number of the villages would be furnished with lights every year. Project costs are about 9.5 million dinars. The project is being financed by foreign loans, local loans from the government and by the company's resources.

--The rural electrification project in the governorate of Irbid. The Irbid Power Company is presently trying to supply electricity to about 108 villages in the various parts of the governorate. About 138,000 persons live in those villages. The project will be completed between 1981 and 1984, and its costs amount to 9 million dinars. Foreign costs of the project are being financed by foreign loans, and local costs are financed by government loans and by the company's resources.

--The al-Karak and southern Jordan Valley electrification project. The Jordanian Power Authority is supplying electricity to 42 villages in the area of al-Karak and in the southern Jordan Valley. This project will be completed during 1982. These villages are inhabited by 30,000 persons.

The costs of this project amount to 2.3 million dinars.

--The al-Tufaylah and al-Shubak area electrification project. The authority is now supplying electricity to 21 villages in those two areas which are inhabited by 11,000 persons. This project will be completed in 1982-1983. Costs of this project amount to about 2 million dinars.

--The Remote Villages Electrification Project:

The authority has begun supplying electricity to 13 scattered villages by means of diesel units and distribution systems for each village. So far, six villages have been furnished with electricity, and the remaining villages will be furnished with electricity by the end of this year. Costs of this project amount to 2 million dinars.

--The Ma'an and al-Rashadiyah Electrification Project:

Plans to supply electricity to 18 villages where 17,000 persons reside in the area of Ma'an, Wadi Musa and al-Rashadiyah under the project for supplying electricity to 33 villages in the southern area of the kingdom have presently been completed.

Work on that project will begin this year, and it will be completed in 1983. Costs for this project amount to 2 million dinars.

We may summarize the rural electrification projects that are currently being implemented and that have been obligated during the present 5-Year plan [as follows]: furnishing lights to 82 villages in the governorates of Amman and al-Balqa'; to 108 villages in the governorate of Irbid; to 21 villages in the district of al-Tufaylah and the subdistrict of al-Shubak; to 13 remote villages; and to 18 villages in the governorate of Amman and the area of al-Rashadiyah.

Regarding future projects, the Jordanian Power Authority is considering and making plans to electrify the largest number possible of villages in the kingdom. This comes under various projects whose implementation will begin as soon as current projects are completed.

By the end of 1982 the following villages in the governorate of Irbid will have been furnished with lights: Maruw, Harima, al-Qasfah, al-Kharibah, Kafr Jabir, Sama al-Rawsan, Habras, Haratha, 'Aqrabah, Samar, Hatim, Malaka, Umm Qays, 'Al'al, Abu al-Lawqas, Sayalah, Kharaja, Taqbal, 'Izrit, Yabla, al-Rafid, Kafr Sum, Saham Ibdar and al-Mansurah.

By the end of 1983 the following villages in the governorate of Irbid will have been furnished with electrical lights:

Nadirah, Hamamah al-'Alamat, al-Dajaniyah, Rahab, al-Kittah Sakib, Dibbin, Barama, al-Ashrafiyah, Bayt Iydis, Kafr Abil, Awsarah, 'Arjan, Faw'arah, Dawqarah, Jajin, Zubiya, Shatnah, Mukhayyam Ghazzah, Hamamah al-'Umush, al-Madwar, Umm al-Na'am, Dayr al-Liyat, Raymun, Nahlah, al-Jazazah, Jafin, Kafr Rakib, Kafr 'Awan, Jadita, Ba'un, Rasun, Hur, Kafr Rahta, Jamhah, Fa', Rahaba.

By the end of 1984 the following villages in the governorate of Irbid will have been furnished with electrical lights:

Hayan al-Gharbi, Marsa', 'Amrah wa 'Amirah, al-Husayniyah, Janin al-Safa, Dayr al-Si'nah, Tabanah, Ham, al-Kharaj, 'Anabah, Muqbilah, al-Mushayrifah, Sama al-Sirhan, al-Harash, Mabrukah, al-Wahadinah, Hayan al-Mashraf, Bala'ma, Umm al-Jamal, Sabhah, al-Dafyanah, Zabadah, Saydur, Jahfiyah, Qafqafa, 'Amrawah, al-Hara, Sumayya, al-Mansurah, Zaniyyah, Hayan al-Sharqi, Mastabah, Jibbah, al-Hashimiyah, Kharbah al-Ba'ij, Subhiyah, Bayt Yafa, Hufa, Kafr 'An, Habaka, Jaba, Dhunaybah, Raba', Thaghrah al-Jib, Umm al-Qatin.

Between 1983 and 1985 the following villages, which are also in the governorate of Irbid, will be electrified:

Mandah, Dar al-Basha, Qal'ah al-Ruzz, Balas, al-Kafir, Umm al-Sarab, al-Gharbiyah, Dayr al-Kahf, Sab' Sayr, Khushaybah, Salhuf, 'Afana, al-Hidadah, 'Ayn, al-Makiftah, al-Shubaykah, Khusha', al-Kawm al-Ahmar, Dhahr al-Sarw, Makharba, Mahanah, al-Rashayidah, Jabir, al-Rayshah, al-Mazra'ah, Salyatayn, Dahal.

As far as the governorates of Amman and al-Balqa' are concerned, the villages that will be furnished with lights by the end of 1982 are [as follows]:

Ma'in, Manja, Umm Qasir wa al-Muqabilin, Umm al-'Umad wa 'Alan, Ziy, al-Taybah, Manshiyah Hasaban, 'Iraq al-Amir, al-Bassah, Ramimayn, al-Nuzhah, Umm Jawzah, al-Matallah, al-Buwaydah, al-'Adasiyah, al-Mawqar, al-Faysaliyah, Hasaban, Abu Nasir, Umm 'Abharah, 'Ayra, Yaraqa, Kharaybah al-Suq, Subayhi, Rajam al-Shami.

There are also villages that will be furnished with electricity between 1981 and 1983. These villages are:

The villages that will be completed between 1981 and 1983:

Malih, al-Nuqayrah, Dhayban, Hanina, Lab, Umm al-Basatin, al-'Aliyah, Sarwat, Baraza, Mawbas, al-Shaqiq, Tab Kara', Harayah, Shafa Badran, Gharnatah, Mushayrafah, Kafir al-Wakhyan, al-Khushafiyah, Umm Rummanah, Dhayban wa Umm al-'Asakir, Umm al-Salih, Umm Rummanah (Madba), al-Jayza, Natal, Kamashah, Bilal, Bayrayn, al-Rawdah wa Mansurah, al-'Aluk wa al-Ma'rah.

There are villages in the governorate of al-Balqa' and [in the governorate of] Amman that will be furnished with lights between 1984 and 1986. These are:

Rajam al-Kharabishah, Kharabah Sarah, al-Husayniyah, al-'Ush, Umm al-Walid, Maghabir, Mahana, al-Qarayat, al-Dhuhaybah al-Gharbiyah, Qaryah Zaki, al-Marahah, Dhuhaybah al-Daham, al-Jadidah, al-Jadidah, Umm al-Qatin, al-Gharus, Abu 'Alaya, al-Maslubah, Sayl Hasaban.

As far as rural electrification in the south is concerned, the following villages will be furnished with lights by the end of 1982:

Batir, Rakin, Amra' Sarafa, Jada'a al-Sayaydah, al-Maghir, Abu Turabah, Madin, Marud, Sawal, al-'Iraq, al-Taybah, al-Hashtimiyah, al-Juwaydah, Jericho, al-Zubaydiyah, 'Aymah, Dimnah, Jad'a al-Jabur, Badhan, Umm Harnat, Ma'muniyah, Mushayrafah, al-Rawdah, Majrah, Jahrah, al-Qatranah, Umm al-Hashim, al-Jur, al-Naqa', Ghawr Hadithah, Ghawr al-Mazra'ah, Ghawr Fifya, Saka, Samarah, 'Abdaliyah, Mawmiya, al-Baqi', 'Aynun, al-Duwaykhilah, al-Sila', Abu Makhtub, 'Ayn al-Bayda', al-Jayah, al-Jahir, 'Aymah, al-Maqar'iyah, al-Hasa, al-Sala', Abu Makhtub, 'Ayn al-Bayda', al-Jayah, al-Rawim, al-Mansurah, Sunayfahah, Hawalah, al-Nimtah.

By the end of 1983 the following villages will also be electrified:

Wadi Musa, al-'Ays, Jalwakh, Bayr al-Dabaghat, Nawafilah, Bayr Khadad, Qa', Abu Dinnah, al-Manshiyah, Basatah, Rahab, Ayil, 'Abil, Fardhakh, 'Arafah, Sadaqah, Marayghah, Baradi, Qarin, Zahrah, Suwaymarah, Talsan, Dala'ah, Gharandal, Basira, Dana.

Between 1982 and 1984 the following villages in the Jordan Valley will be electrified:

Al-Baqurah, al-Madrasah, Abu Saydu, al-'Ajajirah, al-Marayihah, Sabira, al-Faqir, al-Mushahirah, Busaylah, Abu Habil, Maysar al-Hadidah.

By the end of the present year the following villages, which are remote villages, will have been electrified:

Dhayban, al-Husayniyah, Bayr 'Ata'atah, al-Azraq al-Janubi, Mahi, al-Ajffayif and Gharandal.

JORDAN

MINISTRY OF EDUCATION LABOR MIGRATION POLICY

Amman AL-DUSTUR in Arabic 4 Jun 81 p 6

[Article: "Local News: Principles of Assigning Male, Female Teachers, Guidance Counselors on Loan to Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, Qatar, Yemen, Oman and the Arab Emirates"]

[Text] We received the following from the Ministry of Education:

To meet the needs which fraternal Arab countries have for male and female teachers by means of sending them teachers on loan assignments, this ministry wishes to open the doors to male and female teachers who wish to go on such loan assignments to those countries and who meet the conditions with regard to specialization and seniority, as indicated in the attached schedule, and to the principles of lending teachers which are indicated below. Teachers are to apply at the education offices/colleges with which they are affiliated for filling out the application forms for loan assignments from Sunday, 7 June 1981 to Wednesday evening, 10 June 1981. The application of anyone who does not come [to the education offices] during the set time will not be accepted.

The Principles of Loan Assignments

--Teachers may receive loan assignments according to seniority in graduation for graduates of institutes and universities so that every 2 years of service prior to [their acquisition] of a degree is counted as 1 year seniority.

--A teacher who has a bachelor's degree in addition to a diploma from the Teachers' Institute may submit an application for a loan assignment on the basis of the diploma only or on the basis of the university degree only, whichever he wishes. Accordingly, he is obligated to accept the loan assignment appointment on the basis of the qualifications he chose, and he has no right to demand from any agency that his salary be changed on the basis of the other degree he has.

--A person may receive a loan assignment the second time in the following manner:

A. Anyone who had been on a loan assignment in the past for 3 years or less and who has been back [in the country] for 5 years or more so that the total loan assignment years the first and second times would be 5 years only.

B. Anyone who had been on a loan assignment in the past for 4 to 5 years and who has been back [in the country] for 10 years or more, provided that the new loan assignment be for a period that does not exceed 3 years.

C. Those who had been on loan assignments in the past in Libya or Algeria for 1 year or less and who have been back [in the country] from the loan assignments for 3 years.

D. Groups of people mentioned in paragraphs A, B and C may not receive loan assignments a second time if the agencies to which they were assigned terminated their loan assignments for behavioral or professional reasons.

E. Candidates for loan assignments to whom Paragraph B of Article Three applies may not exceed 10 percent for each country, provided that the specializations requested are taken into consideration.

--Loan assignments are authorized (according to the principles) to those who served in the past outside Jordan or in Jordan before joining this ministry.

--The wife of a teacher who is on a loan assignment or whose loan assignment is being renewed may get a loan assignment with her husband in the country where her husband has his loan assignment, provided she meets the conditions of the agency that is borrowing her services with regard to experience, educational qualifications and specialization.

--A person who had resigned or lost his job in this ministry to work abroad and who has been back [in the country] for 10 years, if he had resigned from service, and for 12 years, if he had lost his job, may be given a loan assignment for 3 years or less.

--A person on a loan assignment may not end his loan assignment during the academic year unless he does so for health and social reasons that are acceptable to the ministry.

--Anyone who becomes a candidate for a loan assignment according to his application and who is selected for such an assignment by the committees for work contracts in fraternal Arab countries and who turns down such a loan assignment may not be allowed to have [another] loan assignment until 2 years after his rejection of said assignment, unless his rejection of the assignment was due to overpowering reasons.

--Anyone who returns from a loan assignment is obligated to accept the job and the position determined for him by the ministry.

--Anyone whose resignation has been accepted will not be considered for a loan assignment.

University Graduates

Areas of Specialization and Seniorities Eligible for Filing Loan Assignment Applications

Area of Specialization	Arab Emirates		Qatar		North Yemen		Saudi Arabia		Sultanate of Oman		Kuwait	
	Specialization	Males	Fe-males	Specialization	Males	Fe-males	Specialization	Males	Specialization	Males	Specialization	Males
Arabic language		72	77									
Law of Islam (Shari'ah)		72	77									
English language		74	77									
Mathematics		74	77									
Physics		74	--									
Chemistry		74	--									
History		--	--									
Geography		72	77									
Education and												
Psychology		--	--									
Biology		73	--									
Vocational Education		--	--									
School principal												
Librarian												
Religion		--	77									
Arabic		73	77									
English		73	77									
Modern Mathematics		73	77									
Classroom Teacher		--	--									
Vocational Education		--	--									
Agriculture		--	--									
General Science		73	--									
Laboratory Lecturer		--	--									
Teachers' Institutes												
Elementary school principal												
Librarian												
Laboratory Lecturer												

Observations

The agencies that are borrowing the teachers are stipulating the following post-qualification services:

--The United Arab Emirates: 3 years for university graduates and graduates of institutes.

--Qatar: 8 years for university graduates, except for graduates in the English language and vocational education (3 to 6 years); and 3 years for graduates of institutes.

--Yemen Arab Republic: at least 10 years for university graduates and for graduates of teachers' institutes.

--Kuwait: 3 years for university graduates.

--Saudi Arabia: 2 years for male university graduates; 3 years for female university graduates and 2 years for graduates of teachers' institutes.

--The Sultanate of Oman: 4 years for university graduates and 2 years for graduates of teachers' institutes.

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CSO: 4304/52

MAJOR HADDAD SPEAKS TO NATION 9 AUGUST

NC091310 Marj 'Uyun Lebanon Voice of Hope in Arabic 1000 GMT 9 Aug 81

[Speech by Free Lebanon Commander Maj Sa'd Haddad to the Lebanese people on 9 August--live or recorded]

[Text] Brother Lebanese: I have not spoken to you for a long time because the situation has been relatively calm. There have been several attempts made here and there to reach a sort of solution. Today I want to tell you briefly about a number of things. The first of these is that I felt very sorry when I heard the news of the murder of Capt (Habib Zraydih). He was a friend of ours and served with us for a long time. Not only was he a friend of ours but also of every sincere Lebanese. He was one of the officers on which Lebanon relied and the people had hopes in him that he would work for Lebanon. He did work for Lebanon and was enthusiastic and proud of being Lebanese. May God have mercy on his soul.

Anyway, 2 days after he was killed I read that he committed suicide. I personally do not believe that he committed suicide. It is certain that he was assassinated, because I cannot imagine that a bullet could be shot in his room without it being heard by someone in his house. When people opened his room in the morning, or found it open and the man killed, they said he killed himself with a pistol. His fate is the same as every sincere Lebanese. I know that most officers and military personnel who are enthusiastic about their nationality will meet the same fate, either on this or some other way. There are people and trends that do not want Lebanon to have sincere Lebanese. May God have mercy on the late (Habib Zraydih), but we want to caution those who are enthusiastic about Lebanon to take care of themselves wherever they are, even if they are in the eastern part of Beirut, because the enemy has agents everywhere and can use them to achieve his purposes. I tell you frankly that anyone who is not 100-percent sure about his security is welcome here and we are ready to receive him. God willing, the late (Habib Zraydih) will be the redeemer of all of Lebanon and his assassination will not go in vain.

Anyway, there have been many crimes in Lebanon and so far no one has uncovered any perpetrators. Thus, we do not expect the perpetrators of this crime to be uncovered. In the same vein, we read in the newspapers every day reports honoring the late Riyadh Taha. I tell you that the best way to honor the memory of Riyadh Taha is for the Syrian occupiers to hand over the killers to justice. It is time that they stopped their method of killing a person and walking in his funeral.

Do not honor him, because in this method of honoring I believe that his soul will suffer more. [Passage indistinct] The best way to honor him is to uncover the killers and hand them over to justice. However, who will uncover them amid this state of affairs in which the protector is the thief?

The next subject is one that I do not like to talk about, but it pains my heart. About a week or more ago I wanted to talk about it, but I hesitated. I am a person who does not like to keep anything to myself. [Words indistinct] The week before the last, the boys were coincidentally watching a series entitled Islamic Conquests on Jordanian television. The portion that I saw showed how the Christian copts in Egypt were still following pagan customs and wanted to throw a virgin girl into the Nile. The Arab Muslim governor with his sagacity, love and I don't know what came and prevented this. The girl was shown in a convent full of priests and bishops who were walking in a procession to offer the girl as a sacrifice to the Nile. The film then showed how with love Islam persuaded a large number of the Christian Egyptians to convert to Islam.

First of all, I regret that such a series has been screened in Jordan because up to now we had believed that Jordan was a bit more advanced than other countries and that King Husayn was more open to the civilized world than the other Arab leaders. He knows well the history of the Islamic and Christian religions.

Everyone knows that if there had been no Christianity, there would not have been a television. If there had been no Christianity, there would not have been petroleum. If there had been no Christianity, there would not have been progress. If there had been no Christianity, it would not have been possible for Egypt to produce such a film, nor for Jordan to screen it.

I want to explain things more simply. According to the laws and rules of commercial advertisement, you have the right to exhibit and praise the quality of your merchandise but you have no right to say that this merchandise is better than the other trademark. This is because the holders of the other trademark will sue you. In any case, you can enumerate the good characteristics of the Islamic religion as you like. You can say that the Islamic religion was copied from the Christian and Jewish religions. You can say that the Islamic religion promises you that if you are good on earth, then you will go to heaven. God has opened for you a prostitution market up there where you can enjoy yourselves because the virgins and nymphs are all there. [Words indistinct] But you cannot pinpoint the bad aspects of the Christian religion.

It is a shame that such a defamation is taking place in the 20th century. We all know that the Islamic religion spread through the use of the sword, whether in Egypt or elsewhere. Remember that he who kills by the sword will die by the sword. However, we will not abandon our tolerance and love because the Christian religion teaches us love and tolerance.

On this occasion, I wish to remind his excellency President Anwar al-Sadat, in whom we have full confidence and to whom we harbor every appreciation for his heroic stands toward peace--we ask him to heroically prevent sectarian sensitivities within Egypt just as he heroically made peace. We ask him to give the necessary protection to the copts, particularly since his excellency President Anwar al-Sadat

was brought up in a coptic school. We also say that pharaonic Egypt has no more than 7 percent Arab blood. Whether they are Muslims or Christians, they are all from the same pharaonic origin. The present Egyptian Muslims were Christians and the present Christians are relatives and brothers of the Muslims.

As we said, we have a special affection for his excellency President Anwar al-Sadat and the Egyptian people. We hope that love will prevail among all the sons of Egypt and that religious persecution will stop. The Egyptian people must rise above all this, focus on what is in Egypt's interest and work together for the sake of Egypt's interest. They must avoid repugnant religious fanaticism. [Passage indistinct]

Anyway, we on our part, as we have said, respect all religions. However, we demand the others, whose religions, beliefs and thinking we respect, to reciprocate with us. I again tell you that it is more honorable that I have said this (?openly). I hide nothing and I have accustomed you to frankness. I am not used to hiding anything lest others hide something and wait to retaliate. We say things in order to put matters right and not to retaliate.

Furthermore, what we want to call back to memory is the question of Zahlah. It is true that there has been a cease-fire in Zahlah. It is equally true that internal security forces have entered Zahlah. However, you know that the sons of Zahlah are farmers who live by agriculture. Zahlah (?cannot survive) without agricultural production. Therefore, we demand that the officials tackle the situation and exert pressure on the Syrians to lift the blockade on Zahlah indeed and permit the sons of Zahlah to exercise all their agricultural, industrial and social activities as before. The sons of Zahlah do not intend any harm to anybody. We know them. Keep them from harm. Does Syria, which has been unable to kill them through the war, want to starve them to death? Therefore, the officials must act toward the actual lifting of the blockade on Zahlah.

Today, we have the problem of Tripoli, which is dear to our hearts. It is a Lebanese city and its inhabitants are Lebanese. [Words indistinct] the hired forces that call themselves the legitimate forces. [Words indistinct] Approximately, a year ago, things began moving in Tripoli. [Words indistinct] We warned in the past that the Syrians who came to Lebanon did not come to help any Lebanese or anybody on the land of Lebanon. They came to help themselves only, no more and no less. I tell you [words indistinct] that they primarily planned to annex all Lebanon. [Passage indistinct]

Let the occupants know that no matter how long it takes and regardless of how strong the occupant is, we will expel them not from the south of Beirut only but from all of Lebanon--from the al-Biqa' and the north also.

Furthermore, we are very happy about the U.S. role in the area. It has been recently found out that the United States is the main factor in the Middle East. We are sure that the United States can restore sovereignty, independence and peace to Lebanon if it decides to do so.

Today, whatever saboteur 'Abu 'Ammar [Yasir 'Arafat] says and does and whatever he and Hafiz al-Asad say against the United States and against Reagan, Philip Habib and others, the fact remains that they obey the orders of the United States.

I will give you an example. Long ago [words indistinct] we had a soldier in the company from the Jean Bey family. When wanted people were detained, he used to act overenthusiastically and beat the detained persons. He was often asked: Why do you act this way? Take it easy man, it is a pity. His other military comrades and officers used to say that he was a patriot because he was harsh with the detainees.

Anyhow, a short period afterwards members of the Dexieume came around and arrested him, saying that he was a member of the Syrian National Party. They beat him the way he used to beat others.

Why do I say this? A person must not be deceived by appearances. Yasir 'Arafat and Hafiz al-Asad curse the Americans. But, if you look a little deeper in matters, you would find out that both obey the orders of the Americans. Anyhow, we do not feel angry but rather happy because we know that the United States actually works for the sake of peace and the rights of Lebanon. It will exploit 'Arafat and Hafiz al-Asad's subservience to it to impose a solution that will be in the interests of Lebanon. Furthermore, Saudi Arabia and others are now helping the United States, and we wish them success in their good efforts. Anyhow, the required solution for Lebanon is that which provides for the departure of the saboteurs and all the alien occupying forces from the land of Lebanon. We hope that the United States will help us attain this goal.

We have forgotten to say that the cease-fire is somehow holding. This is something encouraging. We hope that President Sarkis and Saudi Arabia have restrained the saboteurs and forced them to pass through two stages. Today, we see the saboteurs sitting in the south drinking and eating and doing no work. The checks continue to come to them from the Arab states. Why are they doing no work? What benefit are they to us? Let them get out of the south and let the Lebanese legitimacy, Lebanese Army and UN emergency forces come, but let the saboteurs leave the south and let the southerners live somehow happily in security and comfort. If Yasir 'Arafat wants then to go to Saudi Arabia and Jordan to speak, let him go and speak wherever he wants. If the question is one of speaking, let him speak from anywhere other than Beirut. Let him speak and may God be with him. No tax is paid on speaking.

Therefore, I ask Sarkis and Saudi Arabia to demand that the saboteurs withdraw from the south to Beirut as a preliminary step and then withdraw from all Lebanon. We are [words indistinct] because they are in a weak position now. Their back has been broken by the recent Israeli operations. This situation must be exploited. When they leave, they will ease the burden of the Arab states. They will not be receiving money from them any more. They will be looking for jobs to earn a living. The Arab states will no longer have to pay them. Saudi Arabia gave them \$20 million recently and is still giving them money. Libya and Kuwait and others pay them. They can use this money to implement development, construction and humanitarian projects instead of giving it to the devil's agents to spend on devilish work.

[Words indistinct] I am answering them now and I ask: Lebanon has asked that the quadripartite committee's meeting be advanced by 1 week. I ask why? Why ask this when the meetings have previously been postponed for 1, 2, 3 and 4 months. I

want to understand what the purpose of the summit meeting is. They claimed that the purpose is to formulate a unified strategy for the south. A little later, when one of them [word indistinct], they said that this strategy does not mean war but could mean a peace strategy. But the word strategy is a military term. Today, when the Arab states and the Arabic-speaking states hear anything which could mean a war, they [words indistinct]. They will not respond, because nobody has any interest in participating in any fighting. Neither Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, Libya, Syria or any other has any interest in participating in the fighting. Why should they fight? Is the south their cause? The question of the south can be settled when the alien saboteurs withdraw from the south. This is how the problem will be solved. They do not have to look for the sun after midnight. Why don't we be frank and tell them: come here, brothers, and take the saboteurs away from here. Why give them money [words indistinct]? I suggest that the best place to take them to is Saudi Arabia. Saudi Arabia is a rich and big country. Its population is sparse. It can accommodate all these refugees. They can take them to Saudi Arabia. They would become rich there, and, if they want to establish a state for them, then let the Saudis give them a piece of land to establish a state. The refugees will be happy there. This would be the greatest service to Lebanon and to the entire world.

Therefore, I hope that those who claim to be responsible will stop deceiving the Lebanese people. They are always coming up with something new. They raise the people's hopes through the quadripartite committee at times and through a five-member committee and meetings at ambassadorial, ministerial and summit levels at others. We have seen many summit meetings and what they said about Lebanon and did for Lebanon. Could the purpose of the entire exercise be extortion, a habit which those who claim to be responsible, have learned from the saboteurs and the Syrians? The saboteurs and the Syrians have always followed the method of extorting money from the Arab states and the rich Arab [word indistinct]. Lebanon, or those who claim to be responsible in Lebanon, have, perhaps, learned from them to extort money. [Words indistinct] We do not want and the Lebanese citizen does not want money, anything or soldiers from anybody. The only thing that the Lebanese citizen wants is that Lebanon return to the Lebanese. [Words indistinct] If the aliens leave Lebanon, there would be no problems among the Lebanese. The best proof is [words indistinct]. Is there anybody in the occupied south, whether in al-Nabatiyah, Tyre or elsewhere who wants the saboteurs? Does anybody in Ba'Labakk want the saboteurs? Does anybody in Zahlah want the Syrians and the saboteurs? Does anybody in Tripoli want the saboteurs and the Syrians? Tell me what faction in Lebanon has not fought the occupiers? What does this mean? This means that all the Lebanese have one demand. They want the occupiers to leave Lebanon so that they may reunite and live together.

We hope that anybody who wants to serve Lebanon will work in this direction--the expulsion of the alien occupiers from the land of Lebanon. May you live long and long live Free Lebanon.

CSO: 4304/114

PEACE TENUOUS WITHOUT OVERALL MIDEAST SETTLEMENT

PM101118 Beirut AL-NAHAR in Arabic 4 Aug 81 p 1

[Article by Michel Abu Jwdah: "The 'Lebanese Peace'--Is It Comprehensive?"]

[Excerpts] The "U.S. peace plan for Lebanon" that came to light on the eve of President al-Sadat's [Washington] visit consists of three points: first, to strengthen the UNIFIL and increase its powers; second, to strengthen the lawful authorities throughout Lebanon financially, politically, and militarily; and third, to cut off Syrian, Libyan and Soviet arms supplies to the Palestinians. The plan is backed by France, Britain and West Germany.

The first step will encounter the Soviet veto in the Security Council; the second will encounter the local, Palestinian and Arab "veto"; and the third will, of course, encounter the Syrian, Libyan and Soviet veto. This has always been the case in the past. But has anything changed to overcome the three vetoes?

Yes and no. Yes, if Palestinian, Syrian and international peace in the area come through the "Lebanese peace." Therefore, if the answer is yes, it must be said that the plan for Lebanon conceals a bigger and more comprehensive plan which was born in Mexico by arrangement between the major industrial powers and the developing countries, notably between the United States and Saudi Arabia, since the report on the plan originated from there. But if the answer is no, then it means that Lebanon will face further difficulties, that is, unless what is known as Philip Habib's "miracle" is followed by a bigger miracle which will be Ronald Reagan's miracle and the first of its kind in 33 years.

Nevertheless, caution remains necessary, because what has happened and is happening in Israel since the election with regard to forming a government there requires Lebanon as well as other Arab countries to be alert and vigilant. Menahem Begin's extremist and violent rule, which expressed itself in the raid on Beirut and previously on the Iraqi nuclear reactor, is likely to become even more extremist and violent as a result of its increasing reliance on its religious wing.

The need for alertness and vigilance by Lebanon becomes more acute--even more than for the Arab countries--at a time when Egypt, through talks between its president and President Reagan and previously with British officials, is trying to revive the Camp David policy as if the autonomy talks were going to lead to self-determination and later to a state for the Palestinians.

In his talks in Washington the Egyptian president will find himself facing a new U.S. administration which is in turn facing a new Israeli administration. The two administrations vie with one another in their extremism. The new U.S. administration, even more loyal to Israel, is trying through the cease-fire in Lebanon to avoid recognition of the PLO, while the Israeli administration behaves as if it did not recognize even the minimum in the Camp David accords, which is autonomy, and acts on the contrary, as if the accords were the official instruments for the annexation of the West Bank and Gaza.

The United States is now in the course of practically--though not publicly--abolishing or, rather, "annexing" the European initiative. It continues to welcome the European efforts, yet it declares that it has obtained the approval of Britain, France and West Germany for its initiative in Lebanon without making any reference to developing U.S. contacts with the PLO.

This "U.S. initiative" calls on Lebanon to be more alert and vigilant, more so than the Arab countries, because the "annexation" of the West Bank and Gaza by a "religious colonialist" Israeli Government will, if the Lebanese crisis remains unresolved, lead to further exacerbation of the problem of the Palestinians in Lebanon, much more than the problem of the Palestinians in other Arab countries.

CSO: 4304/114

WORKERS, OFFICIALS DESCRIBE DEVELOPMENTS IN LIGHT INDUSTRY

Tripoli AL-ZAHF AL-AKHDAR in Arabic 1 Jun 81 p 7

[Article by Mukhtar Suwaysi and Daww al-Shaybani: "Individual Is Primary Goal of Development; Door Is Open for Producing Masses; Raising Production to Bolster Freedom and Independence; Masses Are Invited to Enter All Spheres of Production"]

[Text] "Meeting the needs must be realized without exploiting or enslaving the others, else it is in conflict with the goal of the new socialist society." The Green Book, Chapter Two.

In a previous issue of AL-ZAHF AL-AKHDAR, we touched, [in an article entitled:] "The Path to the Age of the Masses," in our discussion concerning the light industries on some points stipulated by the decree of the General People's Committee for Light Industries and on the bylaws of this decree. Through our interviews with the officials and with a number of producers in their production installations, we have discussed the advantage and economic benefits of these installations that seek to realize the highest production rates so as to build a prosperous national economy leading to the goal of the socialist society of the masses, namely the goal of bolstering and underlining independence and freedom on the soil of the first jamahiriyyah in history. We also pointed out in detail the organizational measures and the extent of the subsidy and exemptions enjoyed by the producers in accordance with the decree of the General People's Committee for Light Industries and with the bylaws emanating from this decree.

The Secretariat of the General People's Committee for Light Industries provides the opportunity for the producing masses to take the initiative and enter the broad productive fields and spheres of the light industries to enhance progress at the various production levels in order to build a strong economy whose foundation is the man capable of producing--man who is the primary goal of development according to the new socialist projection brought into existence by the third international theory which has come to establish the mainstays of justice and equality, to lift injustice from man and to rescue him from the talons of the relations of oppression, exploitation and of all forms of suppression and slavery that shackle his freedom.

In this report, we will shed more light on production in the numerous light industry fields where the individual can prove his worth and his ability to produce, innovate and invent as long as he has the genuine desire and the readiness.

At the outset, we interviewed brother Dr 'Amr al-Maqsi, the secretary of the General People's Committee for Light Industries, who said to us:

"In the field of the light industry, production depends on production activity carried out by the individual's work and his private efforts of by the members of a number of families combined by a contract called the founding contract. In this case also, the production is based on the efforts of the individuals without exploitation by anybody and production belongs to society and is divided among society's main elements according to the dictates of Chapter Two (Socialism) of the Green Book."

Brother al-Maqsi added: "By his ability, readiness and what his efforts produce for him, a man can engage in any production activity, particularly in the field of the light industries which are founded on countless vocational and craft skills.

[Question] Is there a limit as to the number of individuals who want to engage in a certain production activity?

[Answer] As I have already pointed out, there are controls or limits concerning the number of individuals. The decree of the General People's Committee for Light Industries and the bylaws emanating from it have renewed the organizational measures governing the production projects in which the individual or a group of individuals want to exercise their production activity.

Invitation Addressed to Producing Masses

The masses are urged to produce, give and sacrifice in the various fields of production and to invest monies in the production projects that are of common benefit and through which the society of the age of the masses can underline its independence and freedom. The door is open to the masses to embark on the various production activities that rely primarily on the producing industrial mentality and not on the commercial mentality which relied before the age of the masses on exploitation and blackmail and which sought comfort and profit.

To These We Address Question

In the wake of society's decision to transfer money to the banks, some people still have their money in the banks and have not used it in productive development projects that bring society abundance and prosperity, even though the opportunity is available for production, innovation and invention in all the productive spheres and activities. The Light Industry Secretariat opens the door, welcomes initiatives and gives the applicant [investor] all the guarantees, whether in terms of subsidies or in terms of other measures.

The installations of numerous models of creative productivity in the various municipalities have entered the phase of actual production and have started their work with firm and advanced steps at all levels of light production.

The question addressed to those whose monies are still idle in the banks and who have not yet employed them in the various and broad fields of production so as to

serve society--the urgent question addressed to these people is: Why haven't they followed the example of the early initiatives that have entered the production stages?

I want to assert here that all the guarantees are insured and available in accordance with the industrial organization law. All that a man with an idea has to do is to apply to his municipality to transform the idea into productive work programs.

The invitation is addressed to a large number of merchants and to other groups which had engaged in the past in crafts that have now come to represent an exploitative manifestation in the wake of the new socialist projection.

These merchants and others, who are fundamentally craftsmen and skilled people and none of whom is without a craft or a skill, are supposed to apply, each within the jurisdiction of his municipality, to the secretariats of the special people's committees for light industry so that they may get permits that entitle them to engage in a productive and creative activity that depends on their own effort, without the exploitation of anybody.

In any case, we hope that there will be in the various municipalities of the Jamahiriyah cells that work hard and earn their profit with the sweat of their own brow.

[Question] What are the steps which the applicant has to carry out?

[Answer] The steps required of the applicant are summed up in his skill, his technical and administrative capability and his readiness to engage in the production activity in which he wants to specialize. This comes as a result of the decree of the General People's Committee for Light Industry, as a result of the slogan of "partners not hirelings" and as a result of the dictates of the bylaws of the General People's Committee for Light Industry.

With Producers and Their Production

We have had more than one interview with the producers and we have been able through these interviews to familiarize ourselves with their production and with their technical and administrative abilities. Our first interview was with a producer in the field of light industry:

Name: Mansur Muhammad al-Mushaklat.

Name of installation [business]: Al-Mushaklat Family Installation for Plastic, Household and Electrical Products.

[Question] When did you get the license and the operation permit?

[Answer] I got the license on 2 November 1975 and was given the operation permit on 6 November 1975.

[Question] What is the number of your family members?

[Answer] In fact, those engaged in the management and operation are the members of my family and of my brother's family, totaling 19 persons who engage in their production activity in the installation.

[Question] What is the average daily production of plastics?

[Answer] The average daily production is tied to two main elements:

First, the availability of production and the availability of marketing opportunities.

Second, the field of plastic products is a broad field that relies primarily on the availability of machines. As for operating the machines, it poses no difficulty. A small number of individuals can operate a large number of machines easily.

[Question] When did the al-Mushaklat family begin actual production?

[Answer] At the outset, the production went through initial stages that are considered mere tests. The actual production started in 1976 and now this production is improving and increasing noticeably, both qualitatively and quantitatively.

[Question] What are the types of products?

[Answer] Our production is embodied in various kinds of plastic products, including:

Various types of electricity boxes, of which we produce 400 pieces daily.

Spiral electricity piping, of which we produce 500 meters daily.

Various kinds of household plastic utensils, of which we produce 2,000 pieces daily.

Dishes: 200 daily

Drinking cups: 1,000 daily.

[Question] Do you encounter any difficulties posing an obstacle in the path of production?

[Answer] As far as production is concerned, there is no noteworthy difficulty, except for the small capacity of the business because we want to expand in the sphere of the plastic products. To be specific, we need a plot of land with an area of 600 meters to install the machines in the right places and to use part of the land as a store.

[Question] What is the motive behind the foundation of this project?

[Answer] Basically, the motive was determined by experience, considering that I have considerable experience in the field of plastic products. I have been able to polish this experience with a two-year training course in Italy. The fact is that increasing the production rates in the field of plastic products will lead to the phase of self-sufficiency.

[Question] What is the extent of the cooperation and coordination between you and the secretariat of light industry?

[Answer] The cooperation and coordination exist to a large degree, whether in terms of guidance, in terms of technical assistance or otherwise.

At the conclusion of the interview, brother al-Mushaklat said:

"My ambitions in the field of my specialization are boundless. I can expand in the sphere of plastic industries and can diversify the production, producing such items as ballpoint pens, boxes for [soft] drinks and telephones. I must express an opinion or a piece of advice in this regard so as to strengthen productive industrial awareness based on the purely industrial mentality. Regarding those who were engaged in the past in commercial or other activity, they must turn to the various fields of production so that we may, and with a collective spirit, realize self-sufficiency."

We have also interview brother Ahmad Muhammad al-Shuwayhidi who manages with his family a textile plant in the new al-Thalatha' Market in Wadi al-Ajal Street.

[Question] Brother al-Shuwayhidi, when did you get your license?

[Answer] I got the license and the operation permit in 1972.

[Question] What is the goal from your setting up this project?

[Answer] The fundamental goal is to raise the production rates in the textile industry and to achieve self-sufficiency. Moreover, I have nearly 50 years experience in this field. I have accompanied this industry from the time when I depended on manual work. Now, it is operated by machines and by sophisticated equipment.

[Question] What is your average daily production?

[Answer] I run the plant with my family and the maximum daily production is 80 silk dresses of the Sada brand.

We also interviewed in Tajara' brother 'Amir 'Abdallah Husayn who runs with his family a business for the production of perfumes. At the outset, brother Hasan's eldest son said: "The perfume industry in which we have been engaged for years depends on importing the raw materials and mixing them in certain proportions and according to extremely precise scientific specifications and measures.

"As for the production, it is improving noticeably. We currently produce 1,920 small-size bottles and nearly 1,400 large-size bottles. With time and with increased experience in the field of the perfume industry, the production will increase and will be of high quality."

In the society of the age of the masses--the productive society that is free of political, economic and social maladies--every man has the right to engage in his

production activity as long as he has the ability, the creativity and the inventiveness. The new socialist project brought about by the third international theory has defined the main characteristics of the man capable of giving and sacrificing in the various fields of production, without any exploitation.

The invitation is addressed to the productive masses and the opportunity is open to all to enter the fields of production. Let all roll up their sleeves to produce, innovate and invent so that prosperity may be realized and development enhanced in order to bolster independence and freedom.

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CSO: 4504/21

ARMY CHIEF OF STAFF DISCUSSES MILITARY TRAINING, WORK OF DEVELOPMENT

Nouakchott CHAAB in French 10 Jul 81 p 15

[Interview with Lt Col Yall Abdoulaye, National Army Chief of Staff and CMSN Member, on the occasion of the third anniversary of 10 July 1978; place not specified]

[Text] In an exclusive interview, Lt Col Yall Abdoulaye, National Army chief of staff and a member of the CMSN [Military Committee for National Salvation], told our reporter that the third anniversary of 10 July "is a time to look back over the long and difficult road already traveled." Lt Col Abdoulaye also mentioned the substantial, effective participation of our army in the work of development. As examples, he cited the large amount of rice harvested by the Kaedi military sector and construction of the Tiguint-Mederdra highway. In reply to a question about military training, Lt Col Abdoulaye stressed the necessarily diversified nature of instruction for officers and noncommissioned officers. He also noted the good qualities of the Mauritanian soldier prior to comparing a year of peace and a year of war. In conclusion, Lt Col Abdoulaye made a stirring appeal to all soldiers of our valiant army.

CHAAB: What does the third anniversary of the movement of 10 July mean to you?

Answer: The third anniversary of 10 July is a stage in the process which the armed forces began in 1978 to bring our country to an abrupt halt in its race toward total collapse.

The vigorous spirit to save our country, which motivated the armed forces 3 years ago, derives new strength and even more resolute determination on the occasion of this third anniversary of 10 July.

It is also a time to look back over the long and difficult road already traveled.

And at this point, it should be said that the overall result of the program laid out by the CMSN is positive.

However, much remains to be done and this third anniversary will thus enable us to determine the total effort which must still be put forth to properly carry out all the tasks which the CMSN has set for itself.

CHAAB: The question of the armed forces' participation in the fight against underdevelopment has recently been raised, especially since the end of the war in the Sahara. To what extent has this idea taken concrete shape over the last 3 years?

Answer: By definition, the army's main job is to defend the country. And it cannot be assigned another mission if latent dangers exist. But if minimal security conditions are established, it is the duty of any underdeveloped country's army to devote part of its activities to the work of national development. Such is the case of Mauritania. Our armed forces have therefore definitely felt this need and this duty.

Thus despite its deep involvement with the job of national defense, the armed forces have been able to make room, however modest it may be, for the work of development. For example, I would like to mention the large amount of rice harvested this year by the Kaedi military sector.

With winter just around the corner, we are encouraging all military units stationed in agricultural areas to cultivate a field or to lay out an area for growing vegetables or rice.

CHAAB: Military engineers participated in building roads this year for the first time. Is there a plan for their participation in other similar projects (roads, dams, etc.)?

Answer: In the context of volunteer operations, military engineers have actually participated to a very broad extent. For example, I can mention the construction of the Mederdra-Tiguint highway, a section of road that mobilized a great deal of military, human and material resources.

The work of military engineers must therefore be part of a national program and their participation, depending on the possibilities, will be assured every time that it is needed.

CHAAB: Training is essential, especially for developing armies. Is the Atar Inter-Services School capable of handling our army's officer needs?

Answer: You are quite right in saying that "training is essential, especially for developing armies."

To stress the importance of this aspect, I will add that the worth of an army can be measured by the extent of its instruction.

This instruction is diverse and varied. It requires a continued, sustained and constantly better effort. This means that such instruction must be dispensed by a sufficient number of competent cadres who are aware of their country's specific realities.

That is one of the basic reasons which led to the establishment of the Atar Inter-Services School. The school trains officers and noncommissioned officers for the regular army and provides instruction for reserve officers to become part of the regular army.

It conducts its classes in Arabic and French in two different brigades and thus makes inter-services training possible.

Only specialized training is provided abroad, due to the lack of certain very special and very expensive infrastructures.

CHAAB: The essence of the Mauritanian soldier's instruction should come from the traditions and values of our people. Can you tell us what has been done in this regard?

Answer: The Mauritanian soldier is a descendant of a Moslem people who are intelligent, proud, honest and courageous.

All of these qualities are maintained and cultivated in the army, for they are fully in keeping with the warrior traditions of the Mauritanian people.

The physical and moral values of these warrior traditions are part of the Mauritanian soldier's program of instruction.

Moreover, through the talks and conferences held regularly by officers and during personal visits by National Defense officials and the president of the CMSN, the chief of state, these qualities are recalled and illustrated with actual examples drawn from both our war experience and lessons of daily life.

CHAAB: Our country has spend enormous amounts of money in a war that was forced on it. Three years after our withdrawal from the Saharan conflict, can you provide us with a comparison between a year of war and a year of peace?

Answer: A year of peace and a year of war are fundamentally opposites from the standpoint of both human and material repercussions.

The gap to be filled in both cases is considerable, especially for an underdeveloped country.

Our country's experience has been bitter. Under the former government, it was almost swept away, wiped off the map.

Without giving you a comparison using figures, I will say merely that war causes all sorts of hardships and its disastrous effects are even more pronounced when it strikes an underdeveloped country.

War causes poverty, sickness, economic and social paralysis. It creates widows, orphans and physical casualties forever.

That is why, as long as a country is not attacked, it should avoid war.

CHAAB: Do you have an appeal to make to the national armed forces on this occasion?

Answer: The appeal that I would like to make to the armed forces, on the occasion of this third anniversary, is that they should always bear in mind the serious responsibilities which they have had since 10 July 1978.

The Mauritanian people are watching them; that is why every member of the armed forces should set an example and be a model for emulation by demonstrating his good citizenship and professional qualities.

In particular, the soldier should be aware of his duties, eager to learn them and to train himself to carry out his mission as well as possible.

Concerned with preserving equipment, disciplined and always available, he must accept the job's hardships and obligations selflessly.

Proud of his country, he rejects all subservience other than national duty, including the ultimate sacrifice: giving up his life.

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CSO: 4519/30

DIRECTOR DISCUSSES SITUATION OF SUGAR INDUSTRY

Nouakchott CHAAB in French 17 Jun 81 No 1749 pp 3, 8, and 18 Jun 81 No 1750 pp 3, 7

[Interview with Col M'Bareck Ould Bouna, director of the sugar project, by reporter Sidi Mohamed Ould Babana, date and place not specified]

[17 Jun 81 pp 3, 8]

[Text] Sugar is one of the staple foodstuffs in our country's diet. That is why our country had decided to set up a sugar refinery at Nouakchott to supply the domestic market at reasonable cost. But unfortunately the project failed dismally under the former government. Since 10 July, great efforts have been made to get the sugar plant started again.

The director of this enterprise has been kind enough to review, in the first part of this exclusive interview, his company's present situation. He also spoke about former SOSUMA [Mauritanian Sugar Company] employees and the supply of raw materials for the sugar plant.

CHAAB: In connection with establishing the sugar plant, the Mauritanian state had signed with an American company some contracts that turned out badly for our country. We are aware that since the 10 July movement great efforts have been started to get the plant going and reap some profit from the monies already sunk into it. Director, can you review the situation for us?

Col M'Bareck Ould Bouna: First of all, I want to thank your newspaper for giving me this opportunity to talk about the sugar project, about which the public has such strong feelings.

As you probably know, sugar is one of the staple products in our country's diet. Moreover, it is a first line strategic product for our country's leaders. This said, I note at once that your question revives some gloomy

memories for people who know, from personal experience or otherwise, the project's eventful history.

Aside from the disappointing and painful aspects of the situation you recall, and that we have unfortunately inherited, I note that this project, which is important for our economic health, has not come to anything despite the considerable funds allotted to it.

The major difficulties underlying the plant's being idle reside essentially in the fact that production was suspended as a result of certain technical flaws recorded on the sugar loaf production lines, that the subcontractor Lang Engineering refused to correct.

Since establishment of project management, serious efforts have been made at all levels to put the project on its feet again.

Thus, our nation's leaders have succeeded in obtaining from a brother country the funds needed to start up the project again.

These funds have been made available to us in the form of a 10 million US dollar loan under particularly favorable conditions. This, too, is how we put an end to the dispute with the American company Lang Engineering, which is the dispute you referred to a moment ago, by signing the protocol of an agreement for transfer of the title-deed of the plant and its facilities to our country. Since then, other appropriate actions have been taken to prepare for start-up. Just to give a few examples, recruitment, the selection and training of upper echelon cadre and supervisory personnel, the gradual installation of a management structure, finding possible partners, writing and signing certain technical aid agreements with our partners for adjustments and technical modification of the plant, services, etc.

CHAAE: Among the problems you inherited from the previous sugar project, there is the matter of the workers who served on that project and whose wages have been held up for nearly 2 years now. What solutions do you foresee for dealing with this problem?

Col M'Bareck Ould Bouna: The situation of the former SOSUMA employees is well on its way to being corrected. Freezing the company automatically involved dismissal of just about all expatriate and local personnel, except for a small administrative nucleus which was kept on to finish the liquidation and take care of plant security and that of the annexes. Up to 98 percent of these workers have been rehired by the sugar project, and their earlier wages will be paid to them in their entirety out of SOSUMA assets. As to those affected by staff reduction, their wages were paid them at the time, out of loans advanced by the treasury.

An interministerial sub-committee of which I am a member is now assessing SOSUMA's liabilities and assets with a view to finding ways and means of paying off its creditors.

CHAAB: How is the plant to be supplied with raw materials?

Col M'Bareck Ould Bouna: For the sake of clarity in what follows, let me first point out that only the compacting operation (loaf sugar) will be started up. The sugar refinery itself will remain frozen for some time. This is an economy choice, decided upon the basis of a technical, economic, and financial feasibility study by our office of engineering.

To return to your question, supplying the plant will therefore only involve the loaf sugar manufacturing part.

The quantities of refined white sugar needed for home consumption will be imported from Europe, Latin America, or elsewhere, depending on world market availability.

In addition to refined sugar, we shall have to import packaging materials, chemical products, and so on.

Importation of refined white sugar will be carried out either through SONIMEX [Mauritanian National Import-Export Company], which has the monopoly at the moment, or, as an exceptional measure, by the sugar project itself if necessary, and that will be as soon as the trade relations between these two state institutions have been defined.

[16 Jun 61 pp 3, 7]

[Text] The output of the Nouakchott sugar compacting plant will amply cover the domestic need for this commodity and the surplus (about 2,000 tons is to be exported; at any rate, this is the assurance given us by the director of the sugar project, Col M'Bareck Ould Bouna, in an exclusive interview.

In the second part of this talk, published today in this paper, Mr M'Bareck Ould Bouna speaks about the size of the investment, the problem of training cadre (all native-born) except for two Algerian technicians....

When will this unit be operational? The director of the project, of which the importance in our economic life needs no justification, says March 1982.

CHAAB: What is the unit's production capacity? Can it meet SONIMEX demand?

Col M'Bareck Ould Bouna: The compactor has a capacity of 40,000 tons of sugar a year, of which 30,000 tons are in sugar loaf and 10,000 tons in cubes.

For the sake of information, the sugar refinery and compacting plant was planned for a nominal capacity of 160 tons of refined sugar every 24 hours.

Since, as we mentioned before, only the compacting plant will be working, the total plant output will be:

for the sugar loaf production lines, unit capacity will be 50 tons every 24 hours, which amounts to an annual output of 37,500 tons for 250 days' running time;

for the two sugar cube production lines, unit capacity will be 5 tons every 24 hours, which amounts to an annual output of 2,500 tons for 250 days' running time.

As can be seen from reading these performance figures, the Nouakchott plant will amply cover the domestic consumption of loaf sugar, which is on the order of 38,000 tons a year.

To make allowances even for future growth of the domestic market, we are planning to acquire in the fairly near future an additional compacting line for cube sugar, with a capacity of 50 tons per 24 hours, which amounts to a yearly output of 12,000 tons for an estimated running time of 250 days.

CHAAB: An industrial complex of this sort, Director, requires large investments. Where do you expect to find the necessary financing?

Col M'Bareck Ould Bouna: Priority investments, such as getting the machinery ready, acquiring spare parts, repairing the plating in the plant, buying raw materials, etc...will be borne by the loan of 10 million US dollars that has been made available to us. As concerns the start-up expenditures and the first few months of operation, plant activity should make it self-supporting without any trouble.

As for the second part of your question, I think I have already answered it.

CHAAB: Do you think this plant can enable the country to become self-sufficient so far as sugar is concerned, and if so, when?

Col M'Bareck Ould Bouna: I think I have already answered that question. But to round out my answer, I will add that our output will even exceed the self sufficiency level, since a quantity amounting to about 2,000 tons, intended for export, is expected.

CHAAB: Will neighboring countries' experience in this field be useful to you?

Col M'Bareck Ould Bouna: Among our neighbors, only Algeria and Senegal have the same type of installation as we do. The first country is helping us technically and financially with realization of the project, and I am quite sure that the second country is ready to make its experience in the field available to us if necessary.

In passing, I would like to take advantage of your paper to express, on behalf of the leadership of this nation, as of my own, our warmest thanks to these two brother states: one for its generous assistance, and the other for its availability.

CHAAB: Starting this plant surely requires a large number of qualified personnel. So what are your plans for recruiting and training personnel?

Col M'Bareck Culd Bouna: I know that I am going to surprise you when I tell you that besides domestic cadre and laborers, the sugar plant will employ only two Algerian technicians: an engineer and a financial expert.

Nearly all the personnel we shall need is now either finishing up its training in Algeria, or is already available on site at the plant.

CHAAB: Can you give us a date for the actual start of production of the plant?

Col M'Bareck Culd Bouna: Actual start of production is planned for the beginning of March 1982, which is the date at which the involvement of the Italian construction company, which happens to be the Reggiane company, will cease.

In concluding this interview, which I personally would have liked to be more detailed, it must be remembered that the profitability of this project needs no further proof; even though it has experienced several unfortunate episodes in planning as well as in management, the project is worth saving for many reasons, otherwise all the sacrifices made for it will have been in vain.

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CSC: 4519/22

PRIME MINISTER DISCUSSES SOCIAL MEASURES, ECONOMIC RECOVERY

Nouakchott CHAAB in French 10 Jul 81 pp 14, 23

[Interview with Lt Col Maouiya Ould Sid'Ahmed Taya, Prime Minister and Minister of Defense, on the occasion of the anniversary of 10 July 1978; place not specified]

[Text] "With regard to what has been achieved, there is an open and indomitable will to restore our people's self-confidence, for moral and psychological depression was becoming established in people's minds before 10 July" This is what Lt Col Maouiya Ould Sid'Ahmed Taya, prime minister and minister of defense, told us during an exclusive interview on the occasion of the third anniversary of the glorious movement of 10 July. In this interview, the prime minister made an extremely positive, exhaustive assessment of its results. He spoke about the reestablishment of peace, the reorganization of public finances, economic recovery and the implementation of major projects, the resumption of projects which had been suspended as well as starting other major projects which had been jeopardized for a long time. Lt Col Taya also talked about the social measures taken on behalf of our people, the government, etc.

CHAAB: Today our country celebrates the third anniversary of our national armed forces' acquisition of power. What significance does this event have for you?

Answer: On 10 July 1981, we celebrate the third anniversary of the seizure of power by the armed forces, the ultimate guardians of national legitimacy. The army actually had to intervene on that day to put an end to the dangers of dismemberment and bankruptcy threatening the country and to end a pointless, fratricidal war.

Thus 10 July is a great day for the armed forces, for patriotic forces and for all of the Mauritanian people.

It symbolizes the verdict of a people who could no longer endure being trampled.

CHAAB: When the armed forces seized power on 10 July 1978, they laid out an ambitious program for themselves. Can you tell us what has been accomplished and what remains to be done?

Answer: With regard to what has been achieved, there is an open and indomitable will to restore our people's self-confidence, for moral and psychological depression was becoming established in the minds of the people before 10 July; it was therefore necessary to foster self-confidence and faith in the country.

From a practical standpoint, you are no doubt familiar with what has been accomplished; first of all, peace was reestablished with the signing of the agreement with the POLISARIO Front on 5 August 1979, followed by economic and financial recovery through gradual reduction of the budget deficit, an austerity policy for government spending and readjustment of foreign indebtedness. We have also gone ahead with major projects (the Highway of Hope, Nouakchott's Port of Friendship, the Gorgol Noir project, Boghe Plain, the Guelbs Project) and resumed other projects which had been suspended: an oil refinery, sugar refinery and the Inchiri copper mines.

Other projects such as the Omnisports stadium, television and social services are underway, thanks to our domestic effort and the effort of brother and friendly countries and international institutions. However, much remains to be done in this regard and will be done with determination, for those who hesitate and waver in the fight against underdevelopment will be excluded.

CHAAB: Eighty percent of the population lives in the Rif and the armed forces, aware of this, have given the rural sector priority. Mr Prime Minister, can you identify the obstacles to implementing this decision?

Answer: The majority of our population are in fact rural residents, but the main base of our economy can also only be the primary sector, and that is why the CMSN [Military Committee for National Salvation] and the government have given this sector priority.

This priority is illustrated by the achievements mentioned previously: the Gorgol pilot project, Gorgol Noir, Boghe Plain, the Hodh-Aftout Saheli dams: by following the OMVS program but also through the public's conscientious participation in the work of this sector.

I should also mention: the establishment of the National Development Fund (FND) and the establishment of the regional development fund by the government. But there are real limitations which must be overcome through the determination of the government and operators.

Such limitations include persistent drought, the heavy financing to be obtained for such investments, the mentality of operators, the property system and the level of technology. Finally, there is the problem of water control.

CHAAB: Our people's purchasing power continues to decline at a time when the labor market's possibilities remain limited despite the launching of several economic projects. What measures have been considered for remedying this situation?

Answer: The economic conditions of the mass of our people have always been our major concern. And based on our country's economic situation, the austerity policy for reviving our economy and our public finances, and the necessary effort for sacrifice at all levels, the actual measures which have currently been taken in this connection

are: on one hand, raising wages in the case of all monthly incomes of less than 10,000 UM [Mauritanian ouguiya]; eliminating the contribution to the RN [National Recovery] effort in the case of incomes of less than 12,000 UM; on the other hand, setting the lowest possible prices for staple commodities (sugar, rice, tea).

These products will therefore continue to be subsidized, to be sold at very low prices in comparison to those charged in neighboring countries. We are also suffering from the adverse effects of price increases in industrialized countries, the oil bill, the deterioration of trade conditions and inflation. So that the results of this effort do not end up in the pockets of speculators, we recently established a distribution system for SONIMEX [expansion unknown] products by eliminating middlemen.

Moreover, the absorption capacity of the labor market is certainly limited, but as projects get underway, a sharp improvement will start to be felt and will continue.

Finally, in this regard, I would like to say that there is underdevelopment on all levels and I urge my fellow citizens to persevere in their efforts and spirit of sacrifice so that together we will gradually put in place an economic system providing the best conditions for our people.

CHAAB: The efforts made to reorganize the government have had only limited success; the government is still in a state of disorder. Mr Prime Minister, can you tell us why? What measures have been considered in this connection?

Answer: Our government is still ineffectual, like that of any underdeveloped country. Government officials propose interesting concepts and views, in theory, but do not make the connection between such theories and practical application. Thus the important thing is practical application and that is why there must be a radical change in our government to combine reason and reality in a pragmatic approach with the aim of considering the interests of our people.

This is the orientation that must be given to the sectoral objectives set by the CMSN and also to the plan for government action, which has just been made public.

Our government, a descendant of the former colonial government, is slow to change, but will be induced to do so through observance of work schedules; the required presence of all government officials and civil servants at their posts; a sense of responsibility and respect for the public welfare.

Through the application of coherent programs, stability in operations and strict management, everyone should realize that the contaminated environment of selfish, biased interests is forever a thing of the past and that this government will be an instrument for achieving our people's legitimate aspirations.

Three processes must govern this reorganization of the government: 1. political determination at the government level; 2. changing the mentality of government officials and civil servants and their motivation; 3. active participation of the public, which must no longer endure in silence the abuses or demands of this government, which they must now view as their own and no longer tolerate such major evils as nepotism, interventionism and bribery.

CHAAB: Can you tell us our country's position on the latest developments in the Western Sahara conflict?

Answer: Our position on this conflict has always been neutral, but at the same time we are keenly interested in any permanent, comprehensive solution which could be reached in the interests of those peoples.

We have no position on this issue and hope very much that peace can be restored in that area, whose peoples need to devote their efforts to something other than war; thus the recent development in the situation can only be viewed favorably.

CHAAB: Mr Prime Minister, do you have an appeal to make on the occasion of this anniversary?

Answer: The fight against underdevelopment and the march of history beseech us to firmly establish our national unity, without which nothing lasting can be achieved: our national unity must be firmly fixed in the collective consciousness, just like the deep feeling about the concept of government and public affairs. We must identify with our past and rediscover ourselves in the present to build the future, a future which I urge the Mauritanian people to contemplate, as it will require new behavior based on objectivity, reason and freedom from many hindrances.

From this standpoint, it is our duty to listen to the mass of the people but also to mobilize them in the right direction, in particular by shaking off fatalism. This is what is required to build our country in peace and friendship with all our partners. Every citizen shares responsibility for this joint undertaking and I therefore urge everyone to take part in building a radiant future.

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STUDY QUESTIONS ROLE OF FOREIGN BANKS

London AL-DUSTUR in Arabic No 521, 8-14 Jun 81 pp 19-20

[Article: "On Silver Jubilee of Independence, Governor of Bank of Sudan Opens Fire on Foreign Banks; Competitive Position of Foreign Banks and National Banks in Sudan Is not Equal; Former Attract Cadres Trained on Banking Operations, Using for This End All Kinds of Incentives and Inducements Which National Banks Cannot Offer Because of Redtape Which Paralyzes Their Movement"]

[Text] Khartoum--Exclusive AL-DUSTUR Dispatch--The Sudanese lawyers Union has sounded the alarm and more than 30 prominent Sudanese law professors have pointed the fingers of accusation, warning of the violation of constitutional legitimacy that is occurring in more than one sphere of state affairs.

The warning came from the special legal symposium held by the union on the occasion of the 25th anniversary of Sudan's independence.

In this symposium, numerous scientific research studies were presented on more than one vital issue, including: Condition of legal education in Sudan, the causes, traces and means of dealing with the delay in deciding [legal] cases, the role and problems of the law profession, the judiciary's independence, the special laws, the labor laws and the laws to encourage economic investment.

Regarding the last issue, namely the "laws to encourage economic investment," Sudanese Economic Expert 'Awad 'Abd-al-Majid presented a study in the second part of which he discussed attracting local and foreign capital for investment in opening new banks.

In his study, the Sudanese economic expert opened fire on the foreign banks, urging the legists and the Lawyers Union to discuss the legality of the decisions approving the establishment of these banks in light of the dangers emanating from them and in light of the country's constitution which calls for "socialism of the state," of the 1970 law nationalizing the banks and in light of all the other penal laws capable of putting an end to this activity which harms the country's interests and sabotages its institutions.

'Awad 'Abd-al-Majid who has held several important positions, including member of the Ministerial Economic Council, chairman of the Technical Advisory Committee of

the Banking Apparatus and Governor of the Bank of Sudan, said that commercial banks have never constituted a field of investment for which the state exerts efforts to attract and to which it opens the door wide, encouraging this investment in the manner it is currently doing.

He said that the banks used to perform serious tasks in guiding the national economy in their capacity as the vessels for collecting the national savings and channelling them toward the economic activities.

The former governor of the Bank of Sudan pointed out that the nature of these [commercial] banks has compelled the Third World and socialist countries to nationalize them because of their dangerous impact on the state utilities. The man who had headed the Sudanese banking apparatus said: "The law issued in 1970 nationalizing the Arab, foreign and Sudanese banks is still in force and no action has been taken to repeal it." Drawing attention to legislative fallacies, he added: "The state has begun to encourage the establishment of local and foreign commercial banks within the framework of the 1980 economic investment law. The establishment of these banks, done by decrees and not by law, is capable of burying the investment law while still in the womb."

In this regard, 'Awad 'Abd-al-Majid wondered if any investor, be he foreign or Sudanese, will choose a more profitable sphere than commercial banks?

He said that such banks yield on annual profit reaching 700 percent of the capital, On the other hand, the important industrial and agricultural activities in Sudan, activities which require manyfold the capital required by the commercial banks, yearn to move from loss to a profit within the limits of 10-30 percent. None of these activities can even contemplate realizing profits similar to those realized by the commercial banks.

The former member of the Ministerial Economic Council then returned to the 1980 investment encouragement law, saying that one of its most important benefits is the exemption from the business tax. 'Awad stressed that all or some of the new commercial banks are exempted from taxes. The Sudanese economic expert also said that there is a new policy acting outside the framework of the said investment law, that this policy is based on no other law and that it is geared toward attracting local and foreign capital to set up commercial banks. This policy has led to the creation of a large number of these banks and there are still many requests under discussion.

'Awad 'Abd-al-Majid cited as proof the Sudanese press which emerges daily with reports on permits to numbers of new banks to operate in Sudan.

Last August, AL-SAHFAH reported that the Ministry of Finance and National Economy had approved the establishment of five Arab and foreign banks in Sudan and had received requests for opening five more commercial banks.

Earlier, in January 1980, the Bank of Sudan granted its approval for the establishment of a number of Islamic, foreign, Pakistani and American banks. Another number of banking establishments had also applied to be permitted to operate in Sudan.

'Awad 'Abd-al-Majid then listed the controls laid down by the Bank of Sudan to regulate the operations of these banks, including the regulation that the capital of any such bank not be less than \$10 million, the regulation that they advance medium and long-range credit facilities to the production sectors, such as agriculture and industry, and the regulation that no deposit [savings] accounts in local currencies be opened to other than exporters and importers. The main source of the commercial banks' profits is not their capital but the deposits of the public which are put as a trust with the banks and which amount to 22 times their capital. Here the Sudanese legist and economist wondered if the required capital--\$10 million--can be a guarantee for the deposits of the public which exceed this capital by more than 22 times.

'Awad 'Abd-al-Majid said that these banks are companies with a limited responsibility, meaning that their responsibility doesn't exceed their capital, and that this poses a danger to the popular savings and to the fate of the Sudanese banking system as a whole should any of these banks fail or declare its bankruptcy intentionally or unintentionally!

Regarding the effect of the establishment of these new commercial banks on the national state-owned banks, 'Awad 'Abd-al-Majid asserted that the establishment of these banks will not only bury the new embryo--the 1980 investment encouragement law--but will also kill with premeditation state-owned establishments which yielded last year a profit amounting to 52 million pounds.

The Sudanese economic expert said that the competitive position between the foreign banks and the national banks is not equal. The former attract the cadres trained in banking operations, using for this end all kinds of material incentives and inducements which the national banks cannot offer because of the redtape that paralyzes their movement.

Regarding the role of the banks in advancing credit facilities and in making decisions with a speed that doesn't obstruct the commercial and economic activity of the clients, the Sudanese economic expert said that a decree by the minister of finance demands that the national banks refer any requests for more than 100,000 pounds to the Bank of Sudan, then to an advisory committee and then to the minister himself to make his decision on them whereas the foreign banks are not subject to the power or authority of the minister and can decide on the clients' requests quickly and in a manner which cannot be rivalled by the national banks.

'Awad 'Abd-al-Majid pointed out that this decree was abolished in 1970 and was then reinstated when the door was opened wide for the foreign banks.

The inevitable consequence of this unequal competitive situation is that the new foreign or local banks will replace the state-owned banks. The inevitable consequence of all this will be the collapse of the national banks because the clients will flee them and their cadres to the foreign banks. The expected ultimate outcome of this is that the national banks will die and the arena will become free for the foreign banks.

At the conclusion of his study, 'Awad 'Abd-al-Majid turned to a main point of major importance which may shed light on many issues and on the goal of the policy

followed by the state. The rules regulating the work of the foreign banks prohibit them from opening all kinds of deposit [savings] accounts in local currencies, except for exporters and importers dealing with them. If the primary and most important role of banks is to gather the national savings, then this restriction imposed on the foreign banks will cause their resources to consist entirely of on-demand current accounts.

The practical outcome of this imaginary "restriction" is that the foreign banks will not be able or, to put it more accurately, will be exempted from advancing long-term credit facilities for the industrial and agricultural activities because how can they perform this role when their resources consist of on-demand current accounts?

Thus, the "restriction" turns into another advantage improving the competitive position of the foreign banks. It is a restriction intended for local consumption and to mislead the people into believing that many restrictions are imposed on these banks and that these banks perform a role which our national banks cannot perform.

Here, 'Awad 'Abd-al-Majid pointed out that the total investments from the national savings in the Sudanese banks amounted to 146 million pounds at the end of 1970 while the banks retained surpluses of 229 million pounds for which they earned no profits.

'Abd-al-Majid also pointed out that the national banks earned no profits from the surplus sums and that they didn't need deposit [savings] accounts but opened such accounts out of their sense of their national responsibility to gather the national savings. Moreover, the total medium and long-range loans advanced by the Sudanese national banks in the said year amounted to 95 million pounds.

The gist of the study presented by 'Awad 'Abd-al-Majid to the Sudanese Lawyers Union symposium on the silver jubilee of Sudan's independence says:

The state is hiding behind the economic investment encouragement law to open the door wide for the foreign banks.

The foreign banks are exempted from taxes, do not finance the industrial and agricultural activities and their profits are astronomical.

The foreign banks are established by illegal decrees that are capable of killing the state-owned national establishments because these banks enjoy a good competitive position whereas restrictions are imposed on the national banks.

The summary of the study says:

The national banks and the state-owned banks are the backbone of the economic life. The industrial, commercial and agricultural activities are in danger and Sudan's economy is in danger.

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